Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-170
Tuesday
3 September 1991

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NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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West Europe

British Prime Minister Pays Visit to Moscow

Visit Previewed

LD3008210691 Moscow TASS in English 1233 GMT 30 AUg 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Rostislav Gertsev]

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—Britain's Prime Minister John Major arrives on a brief working visit here on September 1.

During the one-day stay in Moscow, Major plans to meet Mikhail Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin and Ivan Silayev and to give a press conference upon the results of his visit. British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who arrives with the delegation, will meet his Soviet counterpart Boris Pankin and chairman of the Soviet KGB Vadim Bakatin.

During the visit, the sides are expected to discuss the lessons of the putsch, the Soviet Union's political and economic situation, and prospects for Soviet-British economic cooperation.

Considering that Major is the G-7 group's chair, it is not ruled out that the British prime minister was authorised by the seven to have a first-hand look at the situation in the country and define the size of the necessary financial and other aid to the USSR.

During the military coup in the USSR, the British Government and Major personally strongly denounced the criminal action and called with utmost determination for restoring constitutional order in the USSR.

Arrives in Moscow

LD0109123391 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT 1 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—British Prime Minister John Major arrived on a brief working visit to the Soviet Union today. Ivan Silayev welcomed him at the airport on behalf of the Soviet leadership.

Major is expected to meet Mikhail Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin and Ivan Silayev for talks and hold a news conference on the results of his visit later in the day.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who is with Prime Minister Major, will meet his Soviet counterpart Boris Pankin and KGB Chairman Vadim Bakatin.

The talks are expected to touch on last months' failed coup in the USSR, political economic situation in the Soviet Union and prospects for Soviet-British economic cooperation.

'Pleased' With Conditions

LD0109133691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] John Major, Britain's prime minister, arrived in Moscow today on a brief working visit. At Vnukovo airport he was met by Ivan Silayev and other officials.

At this moment the British prime minister is having a meeting with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev.

At the aircraft steps John Major stated: I am very pleased that conditions have been restored in your country enabling it to continue the reforms that have been started.

Meets With Gorbachev

LD0109182791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1652 GMT 1 Sep 91

[TASS correspondent Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep (TASS)—British Prime Minister John Major's meeting today with the USSR president began with a 30-minute description by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev of all the circumstances pertaining to the recent coup d'etat in the USSR and the reasons for its defeat. The official British spokesman accompanying John Major on his trip to the Soviet Union reported this to journalists gathered today at the British Embassy in Moscow.

During the two leaders' conversation, he said, Mikhail Gorbachev confirmed the Soviet Union's adherence to international obligations.

Speaking of the prospects for cooperation between the Soviet republics, he singled out above all the idea of "a common economic space," stressing at the same time the need to preserve a common currency. The Soviet leader also told of the need for the preservation of common armed forces, adding, moreover, that the Soviet military department may be headed by a civilian.

For his part, John Major told Mikhail Gorbachev that it was precisely the changes carried out under his leadership that had made a coup d'etat impossible. He voiced satisfaction with Gorbachev's statement regarding the USSR's adherence to its international obligations. The British side voiced some concern over the problem on control over nuclear weapons within in the USSR. John Major also reiterated the known six-point plan for aid to the Soviet Union, in particular for the supply of food.

According to the British spokesman, Gorbachev's first meeting with Major lasted about 75 minutes and, at the suggestion of Mikhail Gorbachev, both leaders agreed to meet one more time today, as a result of which John Major's news conference may be postponed.

Meeting With Gorbachev Reviewed

LD0109202991 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Sunday had a two-hour talk with British Prime Minister John Major, who made a stopover in Moscow en route to Beijing.

Gorbachev made a brief assessment of the putsch, its causes and intentions of the plotters. He said the attempt was doomed because it was opposed by a spirit of freedom, which has taken deep roots in people's minds during the years of perestroyka and which came to the fore during the coup. It also showed itself on Saturday during Moscow Day festivities.

The president informed Major about his conclusions drawn from these events, prioritising the need to abolish outdated structures and speed up moves towards a renovated union, new relationships between sovereign republics, new volunteer and mutually advantageous cooperation between them on a single economic market.

Gorbachev informed the prime minister about major proposals worked out with republics's leaders for discussion at an emergency Congress of Soviet People's Deputies which opens on Monday.

"A candid conversation with them made me feel that a process of accord, rapprochement and cooperation between republics is on the rise again," Gorbachev said.

Both leaders focused on the most difficult economic situation in the country and the need to accelerate the implementation of London accords.

"The victory of democratic forces in August should dispel our partners' doubts that our country will fulfill everything that was discussed in London," the president said.

Major informed Gorbachev about his talks with U.S. President George Bush on cooperation with the Soviet Union and specific ways to carry out the "six points" of the G-7, as well as possible new initiatives prompted by the crisis.

Meets Silayev, Discusses Aid

LD0109214591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1845 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep (TASS)—As part of British Prime Minister John Major's brief working visit to the USSR, he had a conversation today with Ivan Silayev, head of the Committee for Operational Management of the USSR National Economy, and Chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers. The Soviet side expressed gratitude to the British leadership and to the Prime Minister personally for the decisive and vigorous support shown to the country's constitutional authorities and to the USSR president during the coup d'etat. It was stressed that the firm reaction of the world community facilitated to a considerable degree the collapse of the putsch and the restoration of the constitutional authority in the USSR. Ivan Silayev declared that the Soviet Union had emerged from the period of grave trials renewed and even more devoted to the development of open partnership relations with all countries. The British prime minister was briefed in detail about the priority tasks of the union and republican administration in terms of economic stabilization in the country and ensuring supplies of foodstuffs, fuel, and energy resources. Ivan Silayev shared his ideas on reforming the economy along market lines. He appealed to J. Major, as coordinator of the seven industrially developed countries of the world, proposing that a package of measures on economic assistance to the USSR in the current difficult period be examined as a matter of priority in the very near future.

The British prime minister welcomed the victory of democracy and constitutional order in the Soviet Union, and commented on the important role that the country's democratic public, the Russian Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR president had played in this. J. Major gave an assurance that Great Britain will continue to support the fundamental reforms in the USSR aimed at turning it into a law-governed democratic state. The British head of government reported on the steps envisaged in the West with the aim of giving economic assistance to the USSR. He responded with understanding to the way the Union authorities and the RSFSR authorities are approaching the problem of establishing a renewed and profoundly reformed union state. The sides agreed on the need for further joint efforts to expand diverse cooperation beween the USSR and Great Britain.

Holds News Conference on Talks

LD0109221191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2100 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] The visit to our country by Britain's Prime Minister John Major is coming to an end. Here is our correspondent Aleksandr Kuzin:

[Kuzin] Two meetings between John Major and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and meetings with Yeltsin and the heads of government of the Baltic republics took place during the short visit by Britain's Prime Minister to Moscow. During his brief working visit, talks were held between the British prime minister and representatives of the Committee for Operational Administration of the USSR National Economy. During the talks, John Major welcomed the victory of democracy and constitutional order, and gave an assurance that Great Britain will continue to support fundamental reforms in the USSR.

At the end of his visit to our country, the British prime minister came to the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center. In his opening remarks to journalists, he said in part:

[Begin Major recording in English fading into superimposed Russian translation] I would like to express the genuine relief that I feel and that people in Great Britain and throughout the world feel at the fact that the attempted coup failed and that the legal government of President Gorbachev was restored in the Soviet Union. One of the first things I did was to lay a wreath at the grave of those who gave their lives for the freedom of millions. I would like to pay due tribute to them and to the bravery of all those who sacrificed their lives to preserve the Soviet Union's new freedom. I would also like to express my profound admiration for President Gorbachev and Raisa Gorbacheva. I would also like to convey to President Yeltsin the admiration of the British people for his stand.

During all my talks today, I have been encouraged by the fact that people recognize the need for cooperation between republics and their cooperation with the center. This necessity exists both in the political and in the economic sphere. I have sought assurances from President Gorbachev and from President Yeltsin that the maximum caution will be exercised to ensure reliable central control of nuclear weapons and that responsibility for nuclear weapons is not fragmented. They told me that they both recognize this need fully. [end recording]

[Kuzin] John Major devoted a considerable part of his remarks to issues of economic aid for the USSR. Journalists also showed great interest in the possibility of new initiatives by Great Britain and the Western countries concerning the Soviet Union.

Let me remind you that the British prime minister is the coordinator of the world's seven industrially developed countries for economic assistance to our country.

[Begin Major recording in English fading into superimposed Russian translation] Fifty years ago this week, British ships began to bring food into Murmansk at a time when the Soviet people were undergoing great hardship. This winter, there may perhaps again be a need to help Soviet people in a period of great hardship. We will do our best as the need arises. The present need is for help with foodstuffs and distribution. However, in the long term, a program for radical economic reforms has to be adopted. We have already opened up a British Government know-how fund to help transform food production and cooperation [words indistinct]. In this connection, a conference of people involved in this will be held, to include a consortium of food production companies and companies widely engaged in food distribution. We hope that soon after this, British experts will set off for the Soviet Union in the capacity of an assistance group.

President Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin welcome this initiative. I have discussed this matter with President Bush, and I know that the United States also intends to carry out similar projects. The European Community has already allocated 85,000 tonnes of food for distribution in the Soviet Union this autumn. The EC has also planned major assistance in terms of granting credits and economic cooperation. The European Community will maintain contacts with the Soviet Government and with the republics to ensure that the food reaches those in need.

Why is the question of food so important? Because it will facilitate implementing reforms and this process demands big changes. A firm link must be established with the IMF and with other international financial institutions. At the big seven meeting in July, we agreed that the Soviet Union should be granted associate status in the IMF. Now we must turn this decision into reality. Today has been a very useful one, and a day that I think will help to further understanding of what is happening now. [end recording]

[Kuzin] Answering one of the last questions, John Major stated that Great Britain will cooperate with Gorbachev and Yeltsin as statesmen effectively concentrating power in the country.

Further on News Conference

LD0109225691 Moscow TASS in English 2223 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 2 TASS—British Prime Minister John Major on Sunday held a news conference in Moscow. He is in the Soviet Union on a brief working visit.

Major expressed sincere relief after the coup failed and the constitutional power was restored in the Soviet Union. On behalf of the British people Major expressed admiration at Russian President Boris Yeltsin's position, saying that his courage and determination thwarted the coup.

He believes Yeltsin's administration will play a major role in determining the future of the Soviet Union and Republics.

The prime minister invited Yeltsin to pay an official visit to Britain. Yeltsin accepted the invitation.

Major said British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd will soon visit the Baltic states, adding that Britain intends to open diplomatic missions in these republics.

He said Britain will support their integration into the United Nations and other world organisations.

He said he informed Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev about the results of his talks with republics' leaders, saying that Britain is interested in democracy and stability in the Soviet Union.

He said republics should exist side by side and trade with each other, stressing that people's realisation of the need for cooperation between republics and the centre will be reassuring.

Speaking on nuclear weapons, Major said that Gorbachev and Yeltsin realise the need for proper central control over the country's nuclear arsenals.

Major said Britain will help the Soviet Union during hardships. He said the European Community has already provided 85,000 tonnes of foodstuffs to be distributed in the Soviet Union and plans to grant large credits. At the same time, he stressed the need for a programme of radical economic reforms in the Soviet Union.

Major said that Hurd had a meeting with Soviet KGB chief Vadim Bakatin. He praised the Soviet Union's decision to allow Oleg Gordiyevsky's family to reunite. (Gordiyevsky is a former agent of KGB who now lives in Great Britain).

Major said the Soviet Union and Soviet Republics are facing a tough choice. However, the future is much brighter and better than it was two weeks ago. The Soviet people have chosen the path of freedom, which implies great responsibility and opportunities.

Major said he does not consider Britain's recognition of the independence of the Baltic states an interference in the Soviet Union's internal affairs. He said Britain has never recognised their incorporation into the Soviet Union and expressed hope the USSR will also recognise their independence.

Speaking about relations between Gorbachev and Yeltsin, Major said he believes they will cooperate with each other for the benefit of the Soviet Union.

Speaking on a possible recognition of other Soviet republics's independence by Britain, Major said Britain considers the situation with the Baltic states to be a special case.

Major said Britain does not have plans to reduce its nuclear arsenals, since they are not as big as in the Soviet Union and the United States to be included into a negotiations agenda.

Major Interviewed on Talks

LD0209170191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1500 GMT 2 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Last night, our correspondent interviewed British Prime Minister, John Major, who was in our country on a short working visit. He is the first foreign leader of this rank to have paid a visit to our country since the suppression of the right-wing putsch.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Speaking of economic aid to our country from the West, John Major appeared to divide it into two parts. First, short-term humanitarian aid is being offered as winter approaches—food, and credits for its purchase. Apart from this, the provision of technical aid is also envisaged: the offer of technology, advice on how to create a market economy and how to set up companies.

[Addressing Major in English with superimposed Russian] Previously, Western countries relied only on Gorbachev. Now you have met both Gorbachev and Yeltsin. How do you assess their positions? What do they have in common, and what is different between them?

[Major, in English with superimposed Russian] Well, of course, they both consider it necessary to work in the interest of the Soviet people. They have power, and they both have responsibility at a stormy time when [word indistinct] is needed. Both understand this. They are ready to cooperate and are attempting those solutions which are necessary to insure that their program of political reforms and the program of economic reforms are continued. A great deal depends on their cooperating successfully.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

Hurd Talks With Pankin

LD0109181191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1624 GMT 1 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep (TASS)—Talks between USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and Douglas Hurd, British secretary of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs, have just begun in the USSR Foreign Ministry. Hurd is in the USSR as part of the delegation of British Prime Minister John Major, who arrived in Moscow today on a brief working visit.

Replying to journalists' questions before the meeting, Boris Pankin said that the appointment to the post of USSR Foreign Minister had come as a surprise.

As for his plans for the future, he intends to make them public at his first news conference, planned for 3 September.

Welcoming the head of Great Britain's foreign policy department before the beginnning of the meeting, Boris Pankin suggested they "get down to business straight away" since today's meeting requires no "limbering up."

It is expected that the Foreign Ministry talks will touch on a wide range of problems of Soviet-British bilateral cooperation.

Pankin, Hurd Discuss Mideast

LD0109211391 Moscow TASS in English 2007 GMT 1 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin said talks with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd focused on a wide range of issues.

Both leaders discussed the current situation in the Soviet Union.

Pankin expressed gratitude to Hurd for the firm uncompromised position of the British Government and the British people regarding the plotters on the USSR, which inspired defenders of democracy in the Soviet Union.

Pankin told TASS he and Hurd discussed "in a very specific and practical aspect, without declarations" the convocation of an international Middle East peace conference, ways to solve the "remaining problems", "also very specifically and in detail" the situation in Yugoslavia, and prospects for the realisation of the Baltic states' independence.

They also discussed bilateral relations. "I informed my British colleague that the issue concerning the reuniting of Gordiyevskiy's family (former KGB spy defected to Britain) has been solved. He expressed his appreciation," Pankin said.

He said they also touched upon U.S. national Richter, who is now being detained in Iraq. "And we are mediators here and there are reassuring signs that the issue will be settled," Pankin said.

Hurd reiterated the invitation to Pankin to visit Britain. He said a date of his visit will be fixed via "diplomatic channels".

This is Pankin's first meeting with a foreign colleague in the capacity of a foreign minister. He was appointed Soviet foreign minister by Gorbachev on August 28, 1991. Hurd arrived in Moscow on Sunday afternoon, accompanying British Prime Minister John Major on his brief working visit to the Soviet Union.

Further on Pankin-Hurd Talks

LD0109212291 Moscow TASS in English 2024 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin on Sunday received British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

Hurd congratulated Pankin on his appointment to the post and expressed confidence that their regular contacts will continue to promote understanding and trust reached over the past years.

Pankin thanked the British Government for its firm and uncompromised position during the coup, which jeopardised positive democratic changes in the Soviet Union. He said the world community's unanimous support for the constitutional power in the Soviet Union and the Soviet president also greatly contributed to the plotters' failure.

Pankin informed Hurd about the current situation in the country and the Soviet leadership's plans to rescue the country from the economic crisis.

He prioritised an emergency Congress of People's Deputies which opens on Monday.

Pankin and Hurd discussed relationships between the centre and Soviet republics, stressing the need for radical transformations to facilitate signing a Union treaty and promote wide cooperation between the centre and republics in various spheres, including in foreign policy.

Pankin and Hurd had a thorough discussion of the current international situation, both countries' approaches towards the most urgent world problems, including the settlement of regional conflicts, as well as further moves to expand and develop the Helsinki process.

Both leaders called for solving the conflict in Yugoslavia by political means.

They stressed the need to develop cooperation between the Soviet Union and Britain within the framework of the U.N. Security Council.

The ministers agreed that over the past years bilateral cooperation in international affairs, including the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, has reached a new level.

Pankin said the Soviet Union is ready to make thorough preparations for a CSCE conference on the human dimension in Moscow.

Both leaders discussed a possible date of the conference, which will suit all participants.

Pankin and Hurd analysed several practical issues in bilateral relations, including the search for ways to invigorate trade and economic cooperation between both countries.

The ministers discussed prospects for the Soviet Union's earliest possible integration into world financial and economic institutions.

Pankin stressed the need for the Soviet Union's full membership in the World Monetary Fund [as received] and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. He said this will be in line with a "seven plus one" meeting in London. The British minister appreciated the attitude of the Soviet side.

Hurd expressed gratitude to the Soviet leadership for allowing Gordiyevskiy's family to reunite.

Both ministers agreed to continue the discussion of issues of mutual interest.

Hurd invited Pankin to visit Britain on an official visit. Pankin accepted the invitation.

Bakatin Meets With Hurd

LD0109212891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2038 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] [no dateline as received] Within the context of British Prime Minister J. Major's visit to our country, a meeting took place in the Kremlin on 1 September between V.V. Bakatin, chairman of the USSR KGB, and British Foreign Minister D. Hurd. During the conversation questions relating to appraising the current political situation in the Soviet Union and restructuring the work of the law enforcement bodies under new conditions were discussed. A number of prospects were outlined for cooperation beween the two countries in the fight against international terrorism, drug trafficking, and in a number of other spheres of mutual interest.

Bakatin Offers KGB Cooperation

LD0209081691 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 0602 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] The new liberal KGB chief Vadim Bakatin has offered to co-operate with British secret services. In a meeting in Moscow with Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd he said: "I do not know why there cannot be co-operation between the KGB and British secret services. It is right that we should look at this." Mr. Bakatin said the once feared KGB must be reformed quickly. "We must change our style of doing things." He described the organisation as "rather conservative - old traditions die hard". Mr. Hurd said there could be co-operation on subjects such as terrorism and drugs. He thanked Mr. Bakatin for releasing Lena Gordiyevskiy, the wife of the former Soviet spy Oleg Gordiyevskiy, and their two daughters.

Major Meets Wife of Gordiyevskiy

LD0109183191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1655 GMT 1 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep (TASS) The wife of Soviet turncoat Oleg Gordiyevskiy, a high ranking KGB man who went over to the West a few years ago, met John Major, prime minister of Great Britain, and his wife at the British Embassy in Moscow today. The head of the British Government is here on an official visit. Posing for photographers, Leyla Gordiyevskaya answered a question from journalists by saying that she hopes to be in London soon. This was confirmed by John Major himself, who stated: "We hope that it will happen soon."

A British spokesman has told a TASS correspondent that all the formalities connected with the possible departure of Leyla Gordiyevskaya for Great Britain will be discussed this evening at a meeting between the head of the British foreign policy department and the chairman of the USSR KGB.

Visit Ends, Delegation Departs

LD0109234391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2245 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 2 Sept (TASS)—British Prime Minister John Major's brief working visit to Moscow has ended. His full program began in the middle of the day on 1 September. It included several meetings with the Soviet leadership. The guest had two meetings with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. John Major left Moscow tonight.

Commentator Views Visit

LD0209155591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin]

[Text] On Sunday 1st [September] the British Prime Minister Mr. John Major came to Moscow for a brief working visit. Within nine hours of his stay the British prime minister was able to discuss matters with the Soviet President Gorbachev, the Russian President Yeltsin and other Soviet officials and leaders of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Here's a commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin:

It's important that Mr. Major acted in Moscow in more than one capacity. He was the head of the British government, coordinator of the G7 countries, and finally he acted as representative for the European Communities [as heard].

On the eve of his departure to Moscow the prime minister said the aim of his trip was to sound out the situation in the Soviet Union after the rightist coup launched a fortnight ago and defeated in three days.

According to observers his conclusions will profoundly affect relations between West European countries and the Soviet Union.

The parties discussed a wide range of problems. One of the most important appeared to be the advance of economic reforms in the Soviet Union. President Gorbachev said he was determined to do away with the remaining outdated structures and to set a higher pace of reform to get into the market.

A similar opinion was expressed by the Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who according to some news agencies continued to regard the Soviet president's stand as far from radical. The British prime minister noted that it was very important to ascertain who would shape the Soviet policy in future. According to Mr. Major closest cooperation between the Soviet and the Russian President would be a brilliant prospect. And judging by what he said at the news conference, the British prime minister has received hoped for assurances from both sides.

Another major problem is the risk that the Soviet Union may fall apart. Mr. Major expressed concern that if the country disintegrates the West will find it difficult to

pursue a unified policy toward all the republics. This does not concern the Baltic republics, whose independence the West supports wholeheartedly.

Both Gorbachev and Yeltsin, who also support the Baltic republics' independence, spoke in favor of preserving unity and cooperation between the republics now comprising the Soviet Union in one or another form.

Closely linked to this problem is that of abiding by the international treaties earlier concluded by the Soviet Union and a grim prospect of spreading nuclear weapons in various republics. The British prime minister has received ironclad guarantees that the Soviet Union will continue a policy of disarmament and detente.

As for the nuclear arsenals, they will be under strict centralized control and any possibility of their ill-considered use is excluded.

These are some of the problems discussed in Moscow. As for economic cooperation between the West European countries and the Soviet Union, no new ideas have been advanced, but the parties have confirmed their loyalty to the agreements reached earlier. New ideas may appear later this month after the meeting of the European Community leaders.

Supreme Soviet

Television Carries 29 August Session

LD2908083991

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian begins coverage of a live relay of an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 0703 GMT, Rafik Nishanovich Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Council of Nationalities and first deputy chairman of the USSR parliamentary group of the USSR Supreme Soviet, begins to chair the session. He calls for deputies to register. Nishanov then tells deputies that people throughout the country are following the proceedings closely and urges deputies to watch their behavior. Nishanov then gives the floor to Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak for a report on the talks between the Russian and Ukrainian delegations in Kiev on "issues that have arisen recently."

At 0707 GMT, Sobchak discusses the meeting between Russian and Ukrainian delegates. [See the Supreme Soviet Section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Sobchak's address]

At 0713 GMT, Shcherbak takes the floor to read a report on the talks, which lists participants and notes that a communique was adopted. [See the Supreme Soviet Section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Shcherbak's address]

Nishanov then gives the floor to Deputy Valentin Ivanovich Tatarchuk, deputy chairman of the Industry, Energy, Machinery, and Technology Development Commission, who begins to speak at 0719 GMT about a draft resolution condemning the coup.

Nishanov tries to call for a vote on the agenda, but first asks deputies to repeat their registration. He then invites deputies to speak from the floor.

At 0724 GMT, Deputy Aleksyev asks about the role played by parliamentary committees in the coup and blames the defense and security committee. He calls for the committee to be disbanded and its chairman to be dismissed.

Deputy Yuriy Vladimirovich Golik, chairman of the law and order and fight against crime commission, asks about the fate of his commission. Deputies Medvedev, Mironova, and others comment.

At 0729 GMT, Valentin Falin, head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, speaks on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat. [See the Supreme Soviet Section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Falin's address]

In a reply, Tatarchuk says the Secretariat should somehow have distanced itself. [See the Supreme Soviet Section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Tatarchuk's statement]

At 0737 GMT, Nishanov takes a vote on a procedural proposal made by one of the deputies. The proposal passes. He proceeds to listen to points from deputies on the resolution on the coup, article by article, beginning with the preamble. Deputy Arutyunyan proposes that the preamble state what actually happened and include a description of the situation in the country. Valentin Tatarchuk, who is chairman of the commission drafting the resolution on the coup, replies.

Nishanov calls for a vote on paragraphs one and two of the published preamble, which passes by 396 votes for to two against, with 10 abstentions. Nishanov then invites contributions on paragraph three.

CPSU Politburo member Aleksandr Sergeyevich Dzasokhov asks parliament to let Falin and himself speak. He says the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat, except for Shenin, knew "absolutely nothing" about the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR. Dzasokhov says he heard about it at the same time as all other Soviet citizens.

Sobchak opposing Dzasokhov's call, says Dzasokhov should give his explanations to the investigators, not to parliament. [See the Supreme Soviet Section of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Dzasokhov's and Sobchak's remarks] Then an unidentified deputy calls for a commission to be established. Other deputies comment, with replies from Tatarchuk.

After this, Nishanov proposes a new wording to paragraph three, to say the coup was "actively supported by individual members of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat," rather than the commission's proposal of "actively supported by the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat." As deputies continue to make proposals from the hall, Nishanov withdraws his proposal.

At 0754 GMT, Nishanov takes a vote on paragraph three in the form proposed by the commission, which passes by 290 votes to 39. A vote is taken immediately afterward on paragraph four, which passes by 373 votes to three, with 18 abstentions. Deputies then continue making comments from the hall. One proposal made by a deputy is voted on and rejected. Deputies continue proposals on the wording of individual parts of the draft resolution.

At 0817 GMT, a vote is taken on whether to send the commission away to reach a final wording on the point under discussion and to move to the next issue. This suggestion passes. The next paragraph of the preamble is passed by 370 votes to two.

Exchanges continue between Tatarchuk from the rostrum and deputies in the hall.

At 0838 GMT, a vote is taken on the last paragraph of the proposed preamble, which passes by 356 votes to four. Nishanov then takes a vote on point one of the

actual resolution, which passes by 384 votes for to zero against. Following this, a deputy complains about the wording of a particular paragraph in the resolution. Tatarchuk replies.

At 0843 GMT, a vote is taken on point two, paragraph one, which passes by 385 votes for to zero against. Deputies then make comments on paragraph two. A votes is taken on paragraph two, which passes by 386 votes for to zero against. Deputies then comment on point two, paragraph three. A vote is taken on it, but it does not pass. The vote is 237 votes for to 96 against, with 53 abstentions. The paragraph is withdrawn.

Deputies then make comments from the hall. A vote taken on whether not to withdraw the paragraph, but to return to discussion of it. The results are 155 votes for, 165 against, with two abstentions. No further discussion is made on that paragraph.

Deputies move on to comment on paragraph four of point two. A vote is taken, which passes by 317 votes for to 33 against, with 20 abstentions. Point two is then finished overall.

Nishanov invites a spokesman for the commission on the electronic voting system to ask deputies to take care. Nishanov announces a few side meetings.

Live relay of the morning session ends at 0854 GMT. Live relay of the afternoon session begins at 0931 GMT.

Deputies are seen taking their seats. As in the morning session, Rafik Nishanovich Nishanov is chairing the afternoon session. He invites deputies to register, and figures show 423 deputies present.

At 0937 GMT, USSR Procurator General Nikolay Semenovich Trubin takes the floor. He says that Anatoliy Lukyanov took part in preparing and carrying out the coup. Criminal proceedings are to be instituted against him. Since he is a deputy, Trubin says, the Supreme Soviet should give their consent for proceedings against Lukyanov and his arrest. [See the Supreme Soviet Section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Trubin's statements]

Nishanov then asks deputies to reregister. A vote is then taken on arresting Lukyanov. The proposal passes with 360 votes for, two against, and 28 abstentions.

At 0942 GMT, Deputy Valentin Ivanovich Tatarchuk takes the floor to continue a discussion on the resolution on the coup events. Speaking from the floor, Deputy Vladimir Viktorovich Grishchuk proposes rewriting the clause, given the change in the situation. Nishanov puts point three, as a whole, to the vote, which passes. The results show 327 votes for, 11 against, and 26 abstentions. Speaking from the floor, Deputy Aleksandr Kondratyevich Orlov proposes amendments regarding election laws and economic relations. Tatarchuk comments on the proposal. A deputy then proposes to remove the first three paragraphs. Another deputy says Nishanov is not complying with standing orders and goes on to propose his amendments. Deputy Aleksandr Mitrofanovich Obolenskiy proposes an alternate wording regarding presidential elections. A vote is taken on the proposal and is adopted. Deputy Shangerey Zhanybekovich Zhanybekov reminds Tatarchuk of an earlier amendment, after which another deputy offers comments. Deputy Viktor Ivanovich Tsyganov seconds a Zhanybekov proposal on point three.

Nishanov puts point four on forming a parliamentary commission to the vote. The point is adopted.

Deputy Balbasov proposes excluding point five on the procuracy, but Tatarchuk rejects the proposal. Then Deputy Khristofor Grigiryevich Andreyev disagrees with the wording of point five, but another deputy says the clause is necessary. A deputy then proposes an amendment. Deputy Nikolay Ivanovich Ignatovich proposes a change in the order of points five and six. Another deputy disagrees with the wording. Nishanov puts point five to the vote. It is adopted.

Addenda to point five follow. Deputy Ignatovich proposes submitting a declaration on human rights to the congress. Then Deputy Sergey Vladimirovich Belozertsev proposes a different wording regarding the USSR Procuracy collegium.

At 1014 GMT, Procurator Trubin takes the floor. He says that when the State Committee for the State of Emergency was set up and issued its decrees, the USSR Procuracy was not bold enough to resist the committee. [See the Supreme Soviet Section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Trubin's address in he which announces his resignation as procurator general]

At 1023 GMT, Deputy Sergey Vladimirovich Belozertsev says that nobody has ever proposed that Procurator General Trubin dismiss people based on their conservative views.

Deputy Valentin Tatarchuk then proposes final amendments to the clause, taking into consideration Trubin's statement. He may be released from duties by the upcoming congress. Another deputy proposes a further amendment to the clause. Deputy Nikolay Ignatovich proposes that Trubin perform his duties until the congress. Deputy Aleksey Levashev proposes leaving the clause in its present wording. After session chairman Rafik Nishanov sums up the amendments, more amendments and Tatarchuk's comments follow. Nishanov puts the clause to a vote. The clause is passed.

At 1031 GMT, voting begins on relieving Trubin's deputies of their duties. This is approved.

Deputy Roy Medvedev then comments on point seven on the CPSU's involvement in the coup, proposing a softer line. Tatarchuk disagrees. Deputy Kirillov says that CPSU rules have been registered illegally and the CPSU should be banned. Another deputy defends rank and file communists as having had nothing to do with

the coup. He says the clause should be amended accordingly. Deputy Mironova says more concern should be shown toward apparatchiks and their famililies. Deputy Safarov asks deputies to adopt clause seven. Then a deputy proposes stopping the discussion. Another deputy calls on communists to be honest and to share the guilt with the party. Deputy Shukshin questions the legality of clause seven and another deputy seconds the idea. Deputy Ella Pamfilova supports the clause.

Deputy Tadeush Pupkevich from the Soyuz group of deputies says everything written here is a wholesale accusation of millions of honest people. The Supreme Soviet cannot tolerate this. Deputy Medvedev then elaborates on the clause. Deputy Kisilev from the relevant commission rejects accusations of slandering rank and file communists in the clause. Deputy Tsyganov proposes amended the wording. Another deputy says the commission should alter the wording. Nishanov proposes to return clause seven to the commission and to resume discussion after a break.

Live relay of the afternoon session ends at 1056 GMT. Live relay of the evening session begins at 1302 GMT.

As in the morning and afternoon sessions, Rafik Nishanovich Nishanov is in the chair. He invites deputies to register; 423 are present. USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is attending the evening session. Gorbachev is on the rostrum. Nishanov proposes a 30-minute interval at 1500 GMT, followed by a resumption of work in order to be able to complete the Supreme Soviet proceedings on 30 August. A vote is held on the proposal, and it passes.

Nishanov then proposes examining the USSR Security Council and the USSR Cabinet of Ministers. Gorbachev has proposed including republican leaders in the Security Council. Nishanov says that Gorbachev wants to comment.

At 1310 GMT, Gorbachev takes the floor and starts speaking about a proposal for new Security Council members. [See the Supreme Soviet Section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Gorbachev's remarks]

Speaking from the floor at 1313 GMT, Deputy Aleksandr Mitrofanovich Obolenskiy raises questions on a statement made earlier by the Democratic Reform Movement. He wants to know who are the signatories of this statement. Gorbachev remarks that Obolenskiy's claim about the council being a kind of above-state authority is wrong. [See the Supreme Soviet Section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Gorbachev's exchange with People's Deputy Obolenskiy]

Nishanov then asks everyone to reregister. The results show 418 present. Obolenskiy insists on revealing the names of signatories of the Democratic Reform Movement's statement.

At 1321 GMT, Deputy Belozertsev seconds Obolenskiy's view, saying that another organization claiming monopoly of power may emerge. A deputy asks on what grounds certain people were selected to the committee by the president.

One deputy calls on deputies to be more brief. Deputy Svetlana Savitskaya asks whether the Federation Council approved the candidates to the council. [See the Supreme Soviet Section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Gorbachev's response]

Deputy Mukhtarov suggests inviting the candidates to the Supreme Soviet for discussion. He criticizes Popov's political views. Another deputy calls on deputies to assist the president in difficult times by approving the candidates.

Discussion continues with Deputy Rostislav Andreyevich Bratun from the Ukraine proposing a principle of one republic, one vote. Another deputy refutes Mukhtarov's allegations. Deputy Vitaliy Chelyshev suggests that members of the Security Council quit any party they belong to, thereby solving the problem.

Nishanov puts the first part of the presidential proposal—on republican representatives—to a vote. Results show the vote passing with 379 votes for, four against, and seven abstentions.

Nishanov then moves on to the issue of individual candidates. Gorbachev agrees that individuals should be discussed with republican representatives. [See the Supreme Soviet Section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Gorbachev's remarks]

Deputy Moshnyaga asks whether there can be associate members of the Security Council. Gorbachev says that republics outside the nine that participated in the Union treaty preparation have consistently declined invitations to Novo-Ogarevo. [See the Supreme Soviet Section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Gorbachev's exchange with People's Deputy Moshnyaga]

A deputy then calls on deputies to be reasonable and agree with Gorbachev's request. Another deputy proposes listening to each candidate. Another deputy warns against delays in procedure and proposes postponing the approval of the candidates. Deputy Levashov asks why the Security Council is so important to Gorbachev. Deputy Orlov asks about a number of Security Council members.

At 1353 GMT, a deputy proposes approving the Security Council temporarily. Deputy Statnik remarks about the improtance of the Security Council.

Obolenskiy insists on learning the names of the signatories of the Democratic Reform Movement's statement, since it sounds like another coup d'etat. Deputy Vladislavlev gives clarifications regarding the statement. He says the Democratic Reform Movement is not a party but a unifying force. The movement is joined by many

parties and has fruitful dialogue with all democratic forces. He says that the statement has nothing to do with the president's proposal or the candidates.

Nishanov then sums up the situation. Deputy Arutyunyan is for including Armenian representatives in the Security Council. A voting is taken on ending the discussion on the issue. This passes.

Deputy Martirosyan then makes procedural remarks and calls on deputies to support democratic candidates.

At 1408 GMT, Nishanov starts a discussion of presidential appointments for ministerial posts. Deputy Belozertsev asks what is being done to preserve KGB archives, since rumors say that they are being destroyed. KGB Chairman-designate Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin answers that all archives have been frozen. [See the Supreme Soviet Section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Bakatin's question and answer exchange with people's deputies]

At 1431 GMT, Nishanov invites USSR Defense Minister-designate Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov to come forward for the approval procedure. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Shaposhnikov's question and answer exchange with people's deputies]

At 1446 GMT, Nishanov puts Shaposhnikov's appointment to a vote. He is approved as defense minister by a vote of 380 for, three against, and four abstentions.

At 1447 GMT, Nishanov proposed discussing Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov as interior minister. Nishanov puts his appointment to a vote. Barannikov is approved by a vote of 343 for, three against, and 28 abstentions.

At 1449 GMT, Nishanov reads announcements by various groups of deputies. An interval is announced.

Live relay of the first part of the evening session ends at 1450 GMT. Live relay of the evening session resumes at 1530 GMT.

The relay opens with Deputy Tatarchuk at the rostrum speaking on a decision on the USSR Procuracy which is then voted on and passed, with 283 deputies voting for, 29 voting against, and 52 abstentions. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Tatarchuk's statement]

At 1540 GMT, Deputy Roy Medvedev, referring to the decision that has just been passed, proposes an amendment placing a period after the words "USSR Supreme Court." Deputy Levashov talks about the need for procedural norms to be observed so that here is no witchhunt, stressing that the letter of the law must be observed.

At 1546 GMT, Deputy Borodulin expresses his support for the current wording of the paragraph in question. Deputy Voronezhtsev then suggests adding a phrase which ends CPSU structures since, as he says, they existed on the day of the coup, including republican structures. Deputy Koltsov comments on the relationship between various resolutions being debated and points out that abolishing the CPSU could lead to CPSU deputies being deprived of their powers. Deputy Bimbayev then complains about the way debate is being conducted. Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Deputy (?Boronenko) continues with stylistic comments.

At 1555 GMT, Nishanov puts Medvedev's amendment to the vote. It is passed, with 279 deputies voting for, 69 against, and 20 abstentions.

At 1557 GMT, Deputy Yudin protests that they did not have the text of what they were debating, noting that deputies couldn't see how the amendment fits into the decision. Deputy Voronezhtsev demands a vote on his amendment. The vote fails, with 44 deputies voting for, 248 against, and 46 abstentions.

At 1601 GMT, Deputy Chernyak complains about the poor quality of the draft resolution.

Nishanov then wants to put paragraph eight to the vote. Deputy Nikitin proposes an addition, calling for documents of unidentified committees to be made public. Deputy Yarin comments, referring to Golik's committee on law and order. Deputy Golik says he was never asked what his committee did in the face of the coup and is then invited to the rostrum.

At 1607 GMT, Golik says no committee has yet been formed under the president to deal with law and order matters; he is its chairman and the only member so far. Of 30 people invited to consultations, only three have turned up so far, he says. Golik points out that, at the time of the coup, the only people available were Pugo and Kryuchkov, who were hardly likely to cooperate with him. He says that, when he asked Yanayev if it was a putsch, he just replied that it was a putsch. Golik stresses that he could do very little and that Lukyanov would not see him.

At 1614 GMT, Golik answers questions on his activities on 19 August.

Deputy Yudin suggests adopting paragraph 8 as it stands. Sobchak suggests a decree "dissolving citizen Golik as a nonexistent committee." An unidentified deputy suggests some courses of sction Golik could have taken on 19 August and proposes paragraph 8 should sissolve his committee. Another unidentified deputy casts doubt on Golik's version of vents.

At 1621 GMT, Deputy Mukhtarov complains about the behavior of preceding speakers and opposes inclusion of paragraph 8. Deputy Sorokin recalls Golik's involvement in the Gdlyan-Ivanov affair. Deputy Tatarchuk then speaks about paragraph 8 on behalf of an unidentified committee.

At 1626 GMT, paragraph 8 is passed, with 362 deputies for, 4 against, and 10 abstentions. Deputies decide to replace the word "abolishing" with the word "reform."

The vote on paragraph 9 is then passed, with 354 deputies for, 2 against, and 8 abstentions.

At 1627 GMT, deputies begin to comment on the wording of paragraph 10. It is put to the vote and passed, with 375 deputies for, 3 against, and 6 abstentions.

At 1628 GMT, during continued discussion on the Supreme Soviet's decision on the USSR Procuracy, Nishanov says they will return to some earlier paragraphs of the decision. Deputy Tatarchuk reads the current wording, expressing doubts about the USSR Procuracy and dismissing Trubin but asking him to act as caretaker procurator. Deputy Yudin suggests that this is a congress matter. The suggestion is put to the vote and passed, with 367 deputies voting for, 2 against, and 13 abstentions.

At 1634 GMT, Deputy Tatarchuk reads the latest version of paragraph six. Deputies call for the wording to warn against persecution of individuals for belonging to political parties. It is put to the vote and passed, with 379 deputies voting for, 0 against, and 2 abstentions.

At 1638 GMT, Deputy Tatarchuk talks about other proposed amendments. He does not feel an eleventh paragraph is needed. Tatarchuk speaks in favor of preserving a former law on the president's emergency powers concerning the state of economy.

An unidentified deputy then complains that the title of the resolution has not been debated. Deputy Levashov talks about legal aspects of resolutions which might alter the law. Deputy Tsyplyayev and Deputy Berezova support preservation of the special powers. An unidentified deputy disagrees. Laptev refers to the printed copy of the resolution and speaks in support of preserving emergency powers. An unidentified deputy says the president needs no extra powers, while another deputy, indentified only as an economist, says the economy is in its worse mess ever.

At 1651 GMT, Tatarchuk comments on the debate, stressing that a mechanism to cancel decrees under emergency powers is needed.

Sobchak then says that preserving the powers means preserving previous structures. An unidentified deputy then supports the amendment.

At 1654 GMT, Nishanov asks whether they will return to paragraph two, subparagraph three, of the decision already made. The suggestion is put to the vote and passed, with 252 deputies for, 68 against, and 34 abstentions. Deputies then vote on and pass the idea of preserving the subsection, with 279 deputies for, 37 against, and 38 abstentions.

After the vote, Deputy Shekhovtsov refers to the resolution's title, suggesting that the phrase "which took place" after the word "coup" be dropped. Deputy Tatarchuk says he has a point, but not one worth pursuing. The amendment is passed without a vote.

At 1700 GMT, Deputy Tsyplyayev talks about events in Leningrad on 19 August, refers to Deputy Gidaspov, and asks for an investigation.

Deputy Tatarchuk then says the committee has decided not to soften the wording of another part of the resolution after all, in light of revelations about Lukyanov.

At 1704 GMT, the wording question is put to the vote and passed, with 331 deputies for, 6 against, and 22 abstentions. The amendment is then put to the vote, but fails.

Deputy Pilnikov then makes further comments about the resolution's title. Deputy Tatarchuk then answers further questions. Unidentified deputies then argue about the resolution's title. The wording proposed by Deputy Ignatovich is put to the vote and passed, with 341 deputies for, 4 against, and 18 abstentions.

At 1712 GMT, the resolution as a whole, including the amendments, is put to the vote and passed, with 373 deputies for, 1 against, and 1 abstention.

At 1713 GMT, arrangements for giving Central Committee apparat members proper labor documents are discussed. The proposed procedure is put to the vote and passed, with 326 deputies for, 7 against, and 11 abstentions.

Nishanov then turns to proposals for the congress agenda. The distributed agenda is put to the vote and passed, with 348 deputies for, 0 against, and 6 abstentions.

At 1717 GMT, Comrade Kozin speaks for an interregional group, saying the Soviet Union now exists de jure but not de facto. He proposes the congress agenda include recognizing the independence declarations of republics. The proposal is put to the vote but fails to pass, with 112 deputies for, 131 against, and 64 abstentions.

At 1723 GMT, an unidentified deputy speaks about the withdrawal of troops from Lithuania, suggesting the congress debate the Armed Forces. Another unidentified deputy says that this is already covered by another item on treaty-based relations.

Another unidentified deputy comments on the wording of one of the proposed items on the agenda concerning the Baltic republics' independence. He says that they should be named. The suggestion is put to the vote and passed, with 315 deputies in favor.

At 1726 GMT, an unidentified deputy speaks for the "Dnestr republic"; Nishanov then says that there is no such republic. The deputy says the agenda should include an item on recognizing the republic. Nishanov asks for the microphone to be switched off.

At 1728 GMT, Nishanov refuses to put the last matter to the vote.

An unidentified deputy then says that the president should report on all his activities in that post, including the last few days. Another item on the congress agenda should be the radical reorganization of the Supreme Soviet's apparatus, he says.

At 1730 GMT, Deputy Obolenskiy raises the issue of a declaration of human rights.

At 1731 GMT, an unidentified deputy says that the Union treaty must urgently be returned to, especially in light of Nazarbayev's recent remarks. Nishanov says this matter is included on the agenda.

At 1733 GMT, Deputy Kozin asks for the first item on the congress agenda to be broadened to include a report by the president on the situation, analyzing the latter and looking at the reform of the Union in light of declarations of republican sovereignty.

At 1735 GMT, Deputy Khomenyuk calls for an end to proposals. Deputy Bimbayev then protests the switching off of microphone four and iterates the importance of the Dnestr republic issue.

At 1736 GMT, Deputy Kozyrev says there must be a declaration of human rights because people continue to die because of Union disintegration. Nishanov agrees that this is an extremely important issue and can be included on the agenda if the Supreme Soviet wishes.

Deputy Rogozhina then reminds deputies that she raised the declaration of human rights issue when the Supreme Soviet first debated the Union treaty. She calls for the setting up of a committee for human rights in the Soviet Union. People should not have to appeal to international organizations over issues of human rights, she stresses, before appealing to deputies to think hard about this.

At 1740 GMT, the question of recommending that the declaration of human rights issue be included on the congress agenda is put to the vote and passed, with 340 deputies for, 0 against, and 5 abstentions.

Deputy Tatarchuk then says there has been a proposal to combine two decisions of the Supreme Soviet.

At 1743 GMT, the proposal that the drafting committee investigate the document that ensures no repeat of a coup is put to the vote. A deputy asks that Pilnikov be included on the committee before the vote is taken and the proposal is passed.

Deputy Buachidze then reads an appeal from Georgian President Gamsakhurdia. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Buachidze's reading of Gamsakhurdia's statement]

At 1747 GMT, Deputy Dzhanibekov raises the issue of Yeltsin's statement on the possibility of Russia reviewing borders. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Dzhanibekov's address]

At 1752, Nishanov says Rutskoy has flown to Alma-Ata to discuss this very issue, before reading announcements.

At 1753 GMT, the relay ends.

Television Carries 30 August Session

LD3008073591

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 0700 GMT on 30 August resumes its relay of the USSR Supreme session in the Kremlin. Opening shots show deputies taking their seats, with Soviet of the Union Chairman Ivan Laptev in chair.

At 0702 GMT Laptev welcomes deputies and asks them to register for the morning sitting.

At 0703 GMT Laptev declares the sitting open and says parliament will work as long as necessary, as this is the last day of the session. He talks about preparations for next week's congress.

At 0706 GMT Laptev gives the floor to Valentin Falin to make a statement. Falin says his apartment was searched yesterday under an order from the deputy procurator-general. He praises his wife's courage in dealing with the five men performing the search. Falin protested to the men, but accepted that they were only obeying orders. His country house was also searched. No documents or firearms were found in either place. Falin now protests against what happened and demands to know what rights he and other deputies now have.

Laptev says this is not the first such case: it has also happened to Alfreds Rubiks. Whatever you think of the likes of Rubiks, deputies must enjoy inviolability as long as they remain deputies. People's deputies are now being dispatched to the Baltics and Moldavia to look into such cases. Laptev calls on the legislation committee to draw up a document for parliamentary consideration. We support the protest, Laptev says.

At 0715 GMT Laptev invites contributions from the floor. One deputy disagrees with Falin and calls on parliament to stick to the planned agenda.

At 0720 GMT a vote taken on the deputy's proposal to stick to the agenda and discuss the draft resolution on the coup: voting machine shows 119 for, but the vote is not completed.

At 0721 GMT an unidentified deputy says two men entered the headquarters of the war and labor veterans' organisation yesterday and have stopped it working. He protests against it.

Another deputy protests against similar actions in Moldova. Deputy Zafarov calls for a resolution from the legislation committee on the issue.

Deputy Umalatova calls on the Supreme Soviet to stand up to Yeltsin.

Deputy Zolotukhin says the defenders of the White House, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Building, defended the USSR constitution too. He calls for a resolution urging the authorities to observe the law.

Deputy Burlatskiy reads out a statement regretting the style of debate during this week's session, likening it to the Titanic hitting the iceberg.

At 0732 GMT Laptev says the Legislation Committee will draw up a document on the search issue, to be adopted later today.

Next, at 0735 GMT Laptev takes a vote on whether to instruct the Legislation Committee to draft a resolution on the search issue. It is passed with 381 for, four against, and two abstentions.

At 0738 GMT Deputy Sebentsov takes the floor. He says his commission on the Supreme Soviet's role in the coup wants to combine its points with the Tatarchuk commission's resolution on the coup in general passed yesterday. He reads the addendum which he wants to insert into the Tatarchuk resolution to marry them together.

At 0742 deputies put questions to Sebentsov from the hall and make points on issues of interest to them individually.

At 0757 GMT Laptev takes vote on proposal from Tatarchuk and others to make do with the Tatarchuk commission's resolution passed yesterday: It is passed 362 to 7, with 11 abstentions.

At 0800 GMT several deputies make points from the hall on matters of concern to them individually.

Next, Laptev calls on Deputy Kalmykov to speak for a commission which has proposed laws to prevent a repetition of the attempted coup. He summarizes the proposals, referring to a document in the deputies' possession. The first group of proposals concerns amendments to the constitution and other acts concerning the activities of the president and the Supreme Soviet. The first proposal deals with the procedure for transferring powers from the president to the vice president or Supreme Soviet chairman.

Kalmykov continues: The second proposal tightens up the procedure for calling extraordinary parliamentary sessions. The third clarifies the activities of the Supreme Soviet presidium. The fourth envisages greater powers for the constitutional compliance committee and a new name for it: constitutional court or constitutional council. Changes to the laws on a state of emergency and on state crimes are also proposed. He summarizes other proposals, including laws on economic reform, but does not enumerate any proposal in detail. At 0818 GMT deputies make proposals from the hall on Kalmykov suggestions and on new laws which they would like to see included in the package. Kalmykov replies briefly to each. Kalmykov then proposes that deputies should submit further proposals in writing. At 0856 GMT Laptev takes a vote on Kalmykov's proposal: it is passed 349 to 0, with 2 abstentions. Laptev makes a few announcements.

A 30-minute break is then announced.

Relay ends. Relay of afternoon session begins at 0930 GMT with Laptev in the chair.

Following brief procedural discussions, Laptev announces that the session will now move on to the formation of a parliamentary commission to investigate the circumstances of last week's coup; Shekhovtsov, deputy chairman of the Committee for Legislation, takes the rostrum to deliver his report.

At 0940 GMT Shekhovtsov briefly gives the reasons why a law is needed for setting up such commissions, and the floor is thrown open for deputies to ask questions; while favoring the creation of such commissions at the Supreme Soviet level in the Union and in the republics, deputies caution against a chain-reaction in creating commissions at the local level which could grow into a mass witch hunt.

The powers of this commission are also discussed—Shekhovtsov explains that the decisions of the commission will be subject to endorsement by the Supreme Soviet itself; Laptev and Shekhotstov point out that what is at issue at present is determining the legal foundations for parliamentary commissions, rather than their actual formation, which will come afterwards; conservative deputy Kogan in particular cautions against persecution for political sympathies.

A 1000 GMT deputies' questions on the draft law for creating parliamentary investigative commissions continue; the relationship between the parliamentary commissions and the procuracy and other judicial organs is discussed; a deputy puts the view that the Supreme Soviet should concentrate on investigating the actual causes of the coup so that a repetition may be prevented, rather than engaging in individual prosecutions. Laptev points out that the present discussion is for asking questions to Shekhovtsov—actual proposals for improving the draft law on parliamentary investigative commissions should be submitted in writing.

The point is also made that such commissions have already been set up in some of the republics, and that the Union parliament is again lagging behind the republics; in the light of the creation of similar investigative bodies, Gdlyan draws attention to the danger that the investigation might become fragmented. Laptev again asks deputies to ask questions and not make speeches.

At 1040 GMT deputies continue to ask their questions to Shekhovtsov on the draft law on creating parliamentary investigative commissions.

At 1047 GMT Sobakin takes the rostrum on behalf of the committee for the Supervision of the Constitution to speak on the draft law on parliamentary investigative commissions from the constitutional point of view; he

points out certain difficulties that arise with the draft: the access that non-parliamentary members of the commission might have to certain facilities and information, possible difficulties if the decisions of the legislature become obligatory for the judiciary, and the proposed implementation date which appears to preclude presidential review.

At 1052 GMT Laptev makes announcements for various meetings and deputies begin to disperse. The relay ends at 1053 GMT.

The afternoon session resumes at 1300 GMT with Laptev in the chair.

Deputy Popova takes the floor to protest a Moscow directive against the War Veterans' committee. [See 'Veterans, Labor Appeal to Session' in the Supreme Soviet section of this edition of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for further on Popova's statement]

Registration shows 398 deputies present.

Another deputy takes the floor to protest against measures that have been taken against a plenum of the writers' union. [See 'Writers Union Appeals to Session' in the Supreme Soviet section of this edition of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for further on protest]

The session then returns to its agenda.

At 1320 GMT, Deputy Kalmykov takes the floor and outlines various proposals submitted by deputies to amend the draft legislation on preventing another coup discussed earlier in today's session. He lists the draft amendments for consideration.

Deputies then question Kalmykov and argue over the conclusions that have been drawn on individual draft amendments that have either been adopted or rejected. The entire discussion relates to draft legislation that the deputies have in front of them. Laptev tries to draw the discussion to a close, as the commission has been working on the draft amendments all day and deputies have had ample opportunity to make their proposals, but the deputies continue to state their views, with particular reference to the parliamentary committee for defense and security matters.

Laptev then proposes concluding the debate. The deputies vote in favor. Laptev proposes a vote on the draft resolution containing the amendments listed by Kalmykov. Deputies vote in favor of accepting the draft resolution in principle. The individual amendments are then put to the vote individually: First, to set up a coalition government within a month for the transitional period, which is rejected; to make amendments to legislation concerning market reform, which is rejected; to set up a roundtable to discuss economic problems, which is rejected; and to reform the parliamentary committee for defense and state security. Deputies continue to debate the latter issue, some calling for the disbandment of the committee, others calling for a commission to look into its work. Laptev eventually succeeds in getting a vote on a formula that simply states that the committee should be disbanded, leaving the details for a later protocol. This is accepted. The next amendment is put to the vote. It is on including laws on archives and on rehabilitation of victims of the repressions on the list of urgent legislation. This is accepted.

At 1450 GMT, voting on amendments sidetracked by deputies raising the question of the resignation of the Supreme Soviet, the principles of collective and individual responsibility, and the pros and cons of such a step. One deputy in particular stresses the need for the Supreme Soviet to ensure a smooth transition to new structures.

The debate returns to the draft resolution at 1456 GMT. Laptev calls a vote on the entire resolution on measures to prevent another coup, containing the approved amendments. Laptev states: "I put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole, with due account of all the remarks and additions which we have made to it. I ask you to vote, who is for the resolution on priority measures to prevent an attempt at coup d'etat." The resolution passes with 325 votes for, three against, and eight abstentions. Laptev announces a break for 30 minutes, after which deputies will examine amendments to the law on the status of people's deputies, a resolution on violations of deputies' immunity, and a protocol on the parliamentary committee for defense and state security.

Relay ends at 1500 GMT. Relay resumes at 1530 GMT.

At 1530 GMT a representative of the Secretariat explains the procedure for keeping records of speeches and applications to speak at the session.

At 1535 GMT Deputy Makar Yakovlev takes the rostrum and says that searches of deputies' premises were justified. He reads out a proposed new working of a statute on deputies' privileges. An unidentified deputy asks who will be responsible for the unforeseen consequences of searches—the Supreme Soviet, or what?

At 1540 GMT Deputy Anisimova asks if telephone conversations are covered. Yakovlev replies yes. Deputy Andreyeva asks about the time-scale of investigations. Deputy Tsuryupov then queries ambiguity over the nature of searches of deputies allowed in the statute.

At 1545 GMT an unidentified deputy raises a further point about not hindering investigations even at the expense of deputies' protection. Deputy Dymbayev says all deputies in the USSR should be protected, not just USSR deputies.

Laptev calls for a vote at 1548 GMT, but Deputy Aydin intervenes. Yakovlev says his suggestion is too sweeping. Laptev urges a vote on the draft law on changes to status of USSR deputies. The law is passed with 354 votes for, one against, and one abstention.

At 1553 GMT Deputy Kogan says that criminal proceedings are already under way and searches have taken place. He asks what's next. An unidentified deputy asks

about the text of a decision in his hand. Yakovlev says that the session is not adopting a decision at this time. Deputy Biryakov then asks how physical harm is covered in the statute.

At 1558 Yakovlev leaves the rostrum and is replaced by Deputy Andrey Sebentsov, from the committee for state organizations. Sebentsov makes a few brief remarks. Laptev then asks for a vote on a Supreme Soviet decision on violation of deputies' immunity. The motion is passed at 1601 GMT with 356 votes for, one against, and three abstentions.

At 1603 GMT former USSR Procurator General Trubin asks to address the procuracy officials in the country. [See "Trubin Appeals to Nation's Procuracies" in the Supreme Soviet section of this edition of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Trubin's address]

At 1607 GMT Deputy Shakhovtsov proposes a slight rewording.

At 1611 GMT a deputy referred to as Viktor Afanasyevich reports for the relevant working group looking into the setting up of a commission to investigate the reasons and circumstances of the coup. An initial vote on setting it up is held: 289 for, eight against, and 14 abstentions. Viktor Afanasyevich then goes through the document point by point, with votes following each point.

At 1619 GMT there is much discussion about salaries for commission members. The article is put to a vote and passed. This is followed by discussion of the aims of the commission. More discussion of amendments to the decision on forming a commission to look into the causes of the coup follows.

At 1639 GMT Nishanov explains what a law is: something broad and long-term. Laptev invites comments on whether the document setting up the commission should be a law or a decision. Deputies give their views. Laptev appeals for deputies who are in the foyer to rejoin the session.

At 1646 GMT Laptev calls for reregistration—no quorum. An unidentified deputy suggests continuing tomorrow. Another deputy suggests a name registration followed by publication of the list. It is noted that 74 deputies are working on preparations for the extraordinary congress. A female deputy appeals on behalf of SOVETSKAYA ZHENSHCHINA [SOVIET WOMAN] magazine, whose building has been sealed off. She condemns this act of lawlessness.

At 1655 GMT Deputy Burlatskiy says that IZVESTIYA has reported that LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has expressed no-confidence in him as editor, and he rails against this witch-hunt and the actions of extremists on both left and right.

At 1700 GMT Deputy Gubarev from the Finance Committee says that documents show that the State Bank supported the coup committee. [See "Gubarev on Gosbank Support for Coup" in the Supreme Soviet section of this edition of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Gubarev's remarks]

An unidentified deputy complains about the press restrictions. He is followed by Deputy Shaymikhin who denies reports about his stance on the coup. Another unidentified deputy says that if the junta had really wanted to seize power, it didn't need tanks. All this played into the hands of those who really wanted to seize power. Laptev cuts off the microphone.

At 1706 GMT Deputy Obolenskiy warns against washing dirty laundry in public. He says he is unable to locate the missing deputies in the committee rooms, which provides further evidence for an inquiry into the behavior of the Supreme Soviet. He suggests that the names of the missing should be read out tomorrow. Laptev says the session should continue tomorrow at 0900 GMT.

At 1710 GMT all members of the Supreme Soviet register by name—total of 343. A deputy raises the issue of the State Bank again but Laptev cuts him off and calls the evening session closed.

The relay ends at 1711 GMT.

Veterans, Labor Appeal to Session

LD3008181191

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1300 GMT on 30 August, during the live relay of the extraodinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow, carries a three-minute statement by N.V. Popova, deputy of the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans.

Expressing her concern at "arbitrary rule" in the country, she shows the deputies a detailed directive from the mayor of Moscow suspending the activities of the Moscow organizations of war and labor veterans, which she reads out.

She goes on: "War veterans, by a miracle remaining alive and surviving to the present time, appeal to the Supreme Soviet with anxiety and alarm for the future of our fatherland, and for the fate of veterans who are living out such a disturbed old age: to protect human rights, to protect their rights to freedom of thought and freely and easily to see that the homeland is going along the correct path during the last years of their lives, and to become such an organ which might immediately be able to take action to suspend these illegal repressions which are currently erupting on rank-and-file communists—and we have all been through the Pioneers, Komosomol, and party organizations—and to stop this lawlessness."

Writers Union Appeals to Session

LD3008182891

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1307 GMT on 30 August, during the live relay of the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow, carries a seven-minute exchange by deputies protesting measures taken against a plenum of the writer's union.

Deputy Belov takes the rostrum and reads out an appeal from 200 Russian writers. He says that representatives of the prefect of the central rayon of Moscow came to a session of the board of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Union of Writers today with an order to suspend the activities of the board and to seal its building. He continues: "Those taking part in the plenum, Russian writers who had gathered from all over Russia, were angered by this insolent, arbitrary action, and refused to leave the premises. They state their resolute protest regarding this, and appeal to the RSFSR President and the USSR Supreme Soviet to immediately curtail this illegal and unprovoked act."

Deputy Ivanov, also a member of the board of the RSFSR Union of Writers, then takes the microphone and says that he was at the meeting and had supported the decision to seal the building. He says that upon entry to the meeting, publications had been handed out containing support for the "word to the people" signed by Varennikov and others prior to the coup. He concludes: "This is the kind of material that is being handed out there, and it seems to me that an attempt to defend this, in essence, fascist organization, is not right." Following a brief protest, the session returns to its agenda.

Trubin Appeals to Nation's Procuracies

LD3008205491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1603 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Address by former USSR Procurator General Nikolay Trubin at an extraordiary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, we should not simplify things. The political situation now is such that violations of the law that we are talking about now are taking place in the republics which have anounced their independence and which are evading the influence of the central government bodies. This is why I passed my appeal to the country's procuracy officials to the mass media. Before it appears in the mass media, I have decided to request the opportunity to use this podium to appeal to my colleagues in the whole country. May I? [approval from the audience]

Dear colleagues! Today, when the emotions and passions are being replaced by our realization of the full depth of the events of the three days that have shaken the country, the procuracy bodies face an enormous responsibility to fully and objectively, without superficial judgements or fuss, to legally examine the actions of those who participated in the preparation and execution of the coup d'etat, who by their actions facilitated it. It is important that every procurator, every investigator engaged in examination or investigation of such facts and circumstances constantly remember that he serves the law and only the law. There should be no place for ambitions here, for unhealthy emotions, or political predjudices. Any manifestations of arbitrariness and taking the law in one's own hands, any violations of human rights should be resolutely stopped. At stake are people's destinies, their honor and dignity, their rights and liberties. Not a slightest shadow should be cast on the honest people who did not stain themselves with anything. The person's guilt or lack thereof does not depend on his convictions, his belonging to this or that party, movement, or religion. He can only be held responsible for the concrete actions. What we should not allow to happen is the return of the times of the mass informing on each other, universal suspicion, anonymous accusations, sticking on of labels. I am not calling for leniency—let everyone receive according to his deeds—but I do not want a single innocent person to be found guilty.

Gubarev on Gosbank Support for Coup

LD3008183891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Statement by Deputy Gubarev at the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! Please give me a minute of your attention, comrades. I am authorized by the commission on budget, planning, and finance to make a short statement. A number of documents characterizing the activities of the USSR Gosbank during the coup d'etat have come to the attention of our commission. During that period the USSR Gosbank issued several directives and sent the republics a number of telegrams on monetary operations, hard currency operations, credit operations, and other questions. In its telegrams the USSR Gosbank demanded that USSR laws take precedence over republican laws. The documents also confirm that the USSR Gosbank supported the SCSE. We are forwarding the evidence which has been gathered to the investigative commission which our parliament will set up today. We are asking it to carry out an urgent examination of these documents in order to draw up a position on Comrade Gerashchenko, chairman of the USSR Gosbank.

[Unidentified speaker from floor] Who was appointed by the Supreme Soviet?

[Gubarev] I remind you that the USSR Gosbank is answerable to the USSR Supreme Soviet and we must settle the fate of Comrade Gerashchenko. As chairman of the sub-commission on banks and money circulation, I consider, on the basis of these documents, that in this situation Comrade Gerashchenko should resign. This is my personal view as a member of the commission.

Immunity, Anti-Coup Measures Discussed

LD3008193791 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Moscow August 30 TASS—Participants in the current emergency session of the Soviet Supreme Soviet on Friday protested against the violation of the deputy immunity.

Valentin Falin, a deputy of parliament and former secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, said searches were carried out in his apartment and country house on Thursday in keeping with an instruction from Deputy Russian Prosecutor General Yevgeniy Lisov.

Falin said no specific charges were brought against him and when he asked if there was a resolution to strip him of his deputy immunity, the answer was negative.

Ivan Laptev, who chaired the session, said this case was not unique. Reports came about similar acts involving other deputies, specifically former First Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Alfred Rubiks.

Lawmakers instructed the Soviet Parliament Committee for Legislation, law and order to draw up a resolution on the violations of deputy immunity "to stop unlawful acts in their inception and ensure the strict respect of human rights, including the rights of people's deputies".

Yuriy Kalmykov, head of the parliament committee for legislature, read out a list of urgent measures and laws to be adopted to prevent recurrences of events similar to the coup of august 19-21, 1991.

Speaking on behalf of the committee, he proposed to eliminate "legislation blanks" either at an emergency congress of soviet people's deputies opening on september 2 or at the next session of the national parliament.

He called for immediate amendments in the current soviet laws "on the legal regime of a state of emergency," "on state crimes," "on bodies of state security of the USSR," "on public associations of the USSR," and "on the press and other mass media".

Deputies stressed the need for a more clear cut procedure for and duration of a state of emergency, as well as terms of and the procedure for using the armed forces.

Some deputies proposed to introduce the notion of high treason and corresponding penalty measures into the criminal code. They also called for working out laws on the state service, measures to prevent protectionism and corruption, and abolish all nomenclature privileges and annul some economic laws. [passage omitted]

Resolution on Preventing Coup Attempts

LD0109141891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1240 GMT 1 Sep 91

["Text of the USSR Supreme Soviet's resolution of 30 August 'On Priority Measures for the Purpose of Preventing Attempts to Carry Out a Coup d'Etat'"]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep (TASS)—Having examined and analyzed the circumstances that made the preparation and implementation of the 18-21 August 1991 coup d'etat possible, the USSR Supreme Soviet deems it necessary to adopt a number of priority measures in the sphere of solving legal, military, political, and economic problems to make a repetition of similar circumstances impossible and to assist in overcoming the consequences of the coup.

Carrying out the coup d'etat became possible due to the preservation of the foundations of the command-administration system of governing the state and the national economy, the absence of necessary restraints and counterweights to executive authorities from legislative and judicial authorities, the traditional monopolism of the state security bodies, and also in connection with imperfect legislation and insufficient regulation of the activity of the supreme bodies of state power and government. The USSR president's approach to forming the circle of his closest aides and the country's supreme state leadership from among the ideological opponents of the course he was implementing and from members of CPSU leading bodies also contributed to creating favorable conditions for carrying out the coup.

The failure of the state coup has shown the irreversible character of the changes to which the democratization of society has led, the freedom of the press, the liberation of people's consciousness from ideological dogmas, and the readiness of citizens to defend their rights and freedom and to find legal means to resolve society's problems. The failure of the adventure was furthered by the growth of sovereignty in the republics; the decisive actions of RSFSR President B.N. Yeltsin and of the Russian Supreme Soviet; and the high sense of citizenship and loyalty to constitutional duty of the military leaders and servicemen who understood the illegal character of the actions of the criminal adventurers.

The failure of the attempt by reactionary forces to halt the development of society has created a new situation in which a speedier advance along the path toward change has become possible and in which the need for the republics to reexamine the draft treaty on the renewed Union has arisen. Taking into account these circumstances, the complex economic and political situation in the country, and the need to adopt measures to exclude any further attempt to change by force the state structure or to curtail the democratic processes of change, the USSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. To submit for consideration by the fifth extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies the draft laws on

changes in the USSR Constitution and other normative acts in the following areas: The procedure for the transfer of powers by the USSR president to the USSR vice president and the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman if it is impossible for the USSR president to perform his duties; the procedure and the timing for the convocation of the extraordinary sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and congresses of USSR People's Deputies; improvement in the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet and a more clear-cut qualification of the powers and activity of its Presidium; the introduction into the USSR law on "Constitutional Supervision in the USSR" of regulations for a procedure designed to speed up the examination of urgent matters.

2. To make the following proposals to the republics: That the coordination and signing of the Union treaty be speeded up; that the treaties providing a single market space and finance-credit system, national and ecological security, and also the general defense system be concluded.

3. To propose to USSR President:

That interrepublican committees be created in strategic areas to ensure the country's vital activities;

That the extraordinary measures agreed with the republics and stimulating development of the basic sciences, production, processing, preservation, and creation of the necessary food and energy material reserves be adopted;

That in accordance with the laws and decisions adopted by USSR Supreme Soviet, effective measures be implemented to strengthen the social protection of population, increase the minimum wage, speed up denationalization and privatization of state property, demonopolize the national economy, and strengthen the market structures;

That in the shortest possible time the USSR Supreme Soviet be presented with draft legislative acts on military reform, state security reform, protection services for the USSR president and supreme bodies of state power and administration, and the reorganization of internal affairs bodies;

That the necessary changes be introduced into the military rules and the text of the military oath;

To urgently adopt measures guaranteeing the safekeeping of documents and the archive materials of the CPSU and reformed state bodies.

4. To propose that the USSR Constitutional Compliance Committee should submit draft legislative acts to the USSR Supreme Soviet on the USSR Constitutional Court and should introduce corresponding amendments to the USSR Constitution.

5. To reform the USSR Supreme Soviet committee on matters of defense and security, instructing it to continue carrying out its duties until the USSR Supreme Soviet sets up the relevant structures.

6. To hasten the carrying out of legal reform.

7. At the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet to introduce amendments to the following USSR laws:

"On the legal regime for a state of emergency" with the aim of providing a more precise regulation of the procedure and time scale for introducing a state of emergency and of determining the conditions and procedure for using the USSR Armed Forces and for controlling the mass media.

"On criminal responsibility for state crimes," in part to introduce into what already exists, on a new basis for the legislation of the USSR and the republics, the concept of high treason and establishing liability for it;

"On the USSR state security bodies," having in mind removing from the system of KGB bodies the leadership of the border and other forces, the USSR presidential guard, and government communications;

"On USSR citizenship";

"On public associations," linked with the departyization of the USSR Armed Forces, the law enforcement bodies, and the bodies of state administration of the USSR;

"On the press and other mass information bodies," after having clarified the guarantees against illegally suspending, banning, or otherwise restricting the activity of mass media as well as mutual relations among the founder, the editorial collegium, and the labor collective.

8. To develop and accelerate the adoption of the following legislative acts:

On state service in the USSR;

On measures for preventing favoritism and corruption;

On abolishing all kinds of nomenclature privileges and their social analogues;

On expanding the independence of commodity producers;

On supporting entrepreneurship;

On securities and stock exchanges;

On insolvency (bankruptcy) of enterprises;

On rehabilitation of the victims of political repressions and the procedure for reinstating the rights of those rehabilitated;

On archives.

9. To agree to the steps being taken by the USSR president and the republic presidents to carry out departyization and take party structures out of the bodies of state administration, the law enforcement bodies, and the Armed Forces of the USSR.

The question of halting the activities of structures of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should be examined under procedures established in law.

10. To agree to the joint conduct by the USSR and RSFSR procuracies of the investigation into facts connected with the coup d'etat of 18-21 August.

To deem illegal the operations of any commissions other than those set up by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the republican supreme soviets to investigate the facts and circumstances connected with the coup d'etat of 18-21 August.

Decree Affixes Blame for Coup

LD3108102691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1546 GMT 30 Aug 91

["USSR Supreme Soviet Decree on Situation in the Country in Connection With the State Coup"—TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received] On the night of 18-19 August 1991, a state coup was carried out in the USSR, the organizers of which were members of the unconstitutionally formed, so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency: Vice President G.I. Yanayev, USSR Prime Minister V.S. Pavlov, USSR KGB Chairman V.A Kryuchkov, USSR Minister of Internal Affairs B.K. Pugo, USSR Minister of Defense D.T. Yazov, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Defense Council O.D. Baklanov, Chairman of the USSR Association of State Enterprises and Associations for Industry, Construction, Transport, and Communications A.I. Tizyakov, and Chairman of the USSR Peasants' Union V.A. Starodubtsev.

The committee adopted a resolution on the introduction of a state of emergency in a number of areas in the USSR, thereby violating the USSR Constitution and the USSR Law "On Legal Procedures During a State of Emergency."

The setting up of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and the introduction of a state of emergency in different parts of the USSR were actively supported by the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee. The Central Committees of the Communist Party, CPSU rayon committees, kray committees, and oblast committees were recommended in connection with the introduction of the state of emergency to adopt measures to involve communists in cooperating with and implementing the resolutions adopted by the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

The principled position of the RSFSR president, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and the RSFSR Government, the energetic actions by millions of people and the courage of Muscovites, and the support of the world community made it possible to restore constitutional authority in the country.

The position taken by the higher bodies of USSR state authority and administration promoted the tragic development of events. During the country's critical moments the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet manifested inertia, while the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet was in direct connivance with the group of plotters, as expressed in his not taking the appropriate decisions in respect of the unlawful State Committee for the State of Emergency. No decision was made about immediately convening the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet to examine the situation prevailing in the country. This effectively confirmed the lawfulness of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, which cannot be appraised in any other way than political complicity in the plotters' actions. The inaction of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and Security also deserves resolute condemnation. The USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs did not take appropriate measures. The USSR President's Committee for Coordinating Activities of Law Enforcement Bodies remained inactive and did not justify its purpose.

The USSR Prosecutor's Office did not fulfill its constitutional duty, did not appeal against the setting up of the State Committee for the Sate of Emergency and the decisions adopted by it. The leadership of the USSR Prosecutor's Office joined the anticonstitutional coup and issued instructions to all prosecutors of the country to recognize the unlawful actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

All this has caused the country great political and economic losses, practically wrecked the signing of the Union treaty, and disturbed the fragile equilibrium achieved between the republics.

In connection with the above, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. The actions of the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, who removed the legally elected USSR President from the performance of his duties and usurped power, are assessed as a state coup.

The creation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and its decisions have no juridical force from the moment of their adoption.

2. The structure of the highest bodies of state power and government and of the country's law-enforcement bodies, and also the existing practice of the selection by the USSR president of candidates for the leading posts in the state and the USSR Supreme Soviet's consent to the appointments, is deemed imperfect.

The necessary alterations and additions are to be made in the stipulated way to the USSR Constitution and other legislative acts defining the legal mechanism for protecting the constitutional system and the precise order and procedure for the appointment and replacement of top officials.

The USSR Law of 24 September 1990 "On Additional Measures to Stabilize the Country's Economic and Socio-Political Life" granting the USSR president additional powers is deemed to be no longer in force.

It is to be proposed to the USSR president that he deliver a report on the situation in the country at the Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

3. To propose to the republics on the basis of the agreed concept of the Union treaty to speed up its signing, taking account of new proposals.

On the basis of the new Union treaty to elaborate and adopt electoral laws in accordance with which to hold elections of representative bodies of state power of the Union, the USSR President, and the USSR Vice President.

To propose to the republics which have expressed the wish to sign the Union treaty and also to those which have not expressed their readiness to sign it to conclude treaties (agreements) on economic and financial cooperation, defense, ecological safety, and defense of the rights and freedoms of citizens, regardless of their nationality.

To instruct the USSR president together with the republics urgently to complete the elaboration of the principles of cooperation between sovereign republics in a common economic space with the creation of the basic institutions of a market economy.

4. To set up a parliamentary commission of USSR people's deputies and invited representatives of the republics to investigate and give a political assessment of the circumstances of the state coup of 18-21 August 1991.

5. To express lack of confidence in the collegium of the USSR Procuracy.

To accept the resignation of N.S. Trubin, USSR procurator general, while instructing him to continue to carry out his duties until the decision of the Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies

6. The procuracy bodies are to guarantee objective investigation of the incident of the state coup that was carried out, to reveal all participants, and to institute criminal proceedings against them, in accordance with the law.

They are to stop citizens being persecuted for their convictions or for the fact of their membership of political parties or movements.

7. On the basis of available information about the participation of leading CPSU bodies in the preparation and conduct of the state coup of 18-21 August 1991, the activities of the CPSU are to be suspended across the entire territory of the USSR, the MVD bodies having been instructed to guarantee the safety of their material assets and archives, and banking institutions are to halt all operations involving CPSU funds.

Acting in accordance with the second part of Article 3 of the USSR Law "On Public Associations," the USSR Procuracy is to be instructed to conduct an investigation into information about the participation of the leading bodies of the CPSU in actions to change by force the constitutional order, and upon proof of this, the material should be handed over to the USSR Supreme Court.

8. It is to be recommended to the USSR president that he should abolish the USSR President's Committee for Coordinating the Activities of Law Enforcement Bodies.

9. The deputies' group to prepare a plan for USSR national security bodies to resume work.

Proposals on the reorganization of the system of the USSR MVD bodies, USSR KGB, and USSR Ministry of Defense are to be examined as soon as possible at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, taking into account the resolutions adopted by the republican supreme soviets since 19 August, 1991.

Within a month, the necessary amendments and additions to the USSR Law "On the Bodies of State Security within the USSR" are to be submitted for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

10. To propose an emergency session of USSR people's deputies to carry out a renewal of personnel at the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The USSR Supreme Soviet considers that the stance of USSR people's deputies and members of the USSR Supreme Soviet will receive the relevant evaluation from the electorate and the Congress in the process of renewal of personnel at the USSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR people's deputies are recommended to spend a month reporting back to the electorate in accordance with the USSR Law "On the Status of USSR People's Deputies."

Television Carries 31 August Session

LD3108094891

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 0904 GMT on 31 August resumes its relay of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow.

Nishanov asks deputies to register: 391 members of the Supreme Soviet are present, so there is a quorum. The work of the joint chambers can begin, Nishanov says

Nishanov says that there was not a quorum yesterday. He asks deputies to show restraint and patience sot hat the agenda can be completed and preparations for the congress can be undertaken. He proposes that the work be limited to one hour and that deputies do not make proposals unless they are really urgent. There are two opposing attitudes in discussing the work of the committee investigating the coup, he says.

He says the commission could give a political evaluation of the activities of those in power at the time. We often

fail to take account of the tension of the work. We need to concentrate more on the adoption of decisions demanded by the whole of Soviet society.

At 0910 GMT Nishanov invites deputy Shakovtsov of the working group to set up the commission to investigate the causes of the coup to take the floor.

Shakovtsov proposes that the deputies vote upon section 3; Nishanov says there are no sections and invites deputies to vote by clause. Shakovtsov says you do have the third section Nishanov again says there are no sections.

Next, a deputy makes a point saying there is a mistake in the document.

Shakovtsov pleads with deputies to vote on the document.

Next deputy Smirnov makes an editorial amendment to the document. He says the committee cannot be called parliamentary, since we do not have a parliament.

Obolenskiy makes a point on the sixth point of the document.

Nishanov says we should vote on Article 6 in principle first. It is put to a vote: 350 for, 6 against, with 11 abstentions. Article 6 is adopted.

Nishanov asks Obolenskiy what the points were so they can be incorporated into the document.

At 0919 GMT Shakovtsov says we must ensure those who are in the commission do not overstep the bounds of their power.

Belozertsev then makes a point regarding stenographic account of proceedings.

Smirnov says a stenographic account is necessary. There are disputes over three people heading the commission. Smirnov withdraws his proposal. Obolenskiy makes his proposal again—namely that their should be a stenographic account of the proceedings and that the number of people on the commission is unlimited: 136 for, 94 against, with 86 abstentions. The first paragraph of Article 6 remains the same, Nishanov says.

At 0925 GMT Nishanov asks deputies to register again. There are 401. He says that's quite a lot more.

Next, Kozin makes a proposal on Article 6. It is put to the vote but not adopted.

Yerokhin in military uniform says all proposal were given in commissions yesterday so today we're only discussing proposals which were rejected by them.

Shekhovtsov says the commission must be given a proper status.

Kogan proposes voting on a point of the document. Shekhovtsov replies. Kim says the commission will hinder the work of the procuracy. Nishanov calls the hall to order as deputies are trying to speak at once. A deputy makes a point on the tasks of the commission as laid down in the document.

At 0935 GMT Nishanov calls Levashev to the floor to ask for an explanation and to ensure that the commission will not encroach upon the work of the procurator's office.

Levashev takes the floor. Nishanov invites other deputies to put forward their views. A deputy disagrees with the point on the removal of documents—if they're removed there is the danger that we will never see them again, he says. The deputy says the document should be adopted with a few minor amendments.

Next a deputy insists on a stenographic account of the commission's proceedings.

Girenko makes a point on removal of documents. Levashev says that this is one of the commission's rights, as laid down in Article 6, which is on its rights.

Belozertsev says documents could disappear if they are taken away—they should be photocopied and given an official stamp.

Kozin raises a point on secrecy and says the seal of secrecy should be removed from all public documents.

Kim says citizens are not obliged to give evidence before a parliamentary commission—he calls for private citizens and deputies to have the right not to be questioned by the commission.

Levashev defines what is meant by the word "citizen".

At 0943 GMT Lubenchenko takes the microphone and says citizens should have the right to refuse to speak to the commission. They should be forced to answer its questions if criminal proceedings are to be instigated.

Levashev assures deputies citizens rights will not be encroached upon. Leskin objects to the wording of the document. Levashev says the wording of the document on the work of the commission is broad.

Next, Laptev takes the microphone and says that all legal points were ironed out yesterday. Twice it was said that the commission was operational and was receiving proposals and we agreed that we should continue on the 12 points which were laid down yesterday. Laptev asks for voting by article and the amendments to be made in written form since it is not possible to hear them all here.

Levashev reads Article 7 of the document and asks deputies to vote for it in principle. Deputy Korenev takes the floor and proposes rewording of the article. Nishanov asks deputies to vote for Article 7 as the commission proposed it: 347 for, 6 against, with 14 abstentions. It is approved. Deputies are asked to vote on Korenev's proposal; 59 for, 219 against, with abstentions. Article 7 is adopted.

Levashev reads Article 8. Nishanov asks deputies to vote on it: 298, 5 against, with 25 abstentions.

At 0955 GMT Lubechenko makes a proposal on Article 9.

Article 9 is put to the vote with Lubenchenko's amendment: 343 for, 11 against. It is adopted.

At 0956 GMT Roy Medvedev makes a brief point from the floor. Belozertsev queries Lubenchenko's point.

At 0958 GMT Article 10 is put to the vote—it is not read: 364 for, 0 against, with no abstentions. It is adopted. Article 11 is put to vote. Deputy Ismailov makes an editorial point making provison for closed sessions of the commission. Voting is carried out on article 11: 329 for, 15 against, 20 abstentions.

Next, a deputy makes a point on deputies' rights to take part in the sitting of any commission. He proposes that a deputy may be admitted to a closed sitting at the invitation of a member of the commission. Kogan proposes that any deputy has the right to attend a sitting of the commission and if it is closed then he should agree not to disclose its contents, otherwise deputies' rights will be violated. Belozertsev replies to Kogan's comment. Levashev says the procedure for closed sittings already exists. Deputies are asked to vote on an amendment by Levykin; 21 for, 322 against; 15 abstain. The amendment is not adopted. Deputies agree to adopt the word "hearing".

Lubenchenko then makes an amendment regarding the work of the commission. Levashev debates the point. Lubenchenko's proposal is put to the vote: it is not adopted. Chernyshev says clarification of the wording is necessary.

At 1012 GMT Article 12 is put to vote: 362 for, 1 against, 6 abstain. The amendments are adopted. Momotova makes brief point regarding an amendment to the wording. Engver makes a point regarding deputies' responsibility for leaks of information. Belozertsev says that is covered by criminal law. A deputy says a special regulation must be elaborated for this. Kozyrev and Levykin make a proposal. Nishanov reproaches Levykin for his attitide to the Supreme Soviet. Momotova's proposal regarding wording is put to vote. It is adopted.

At 1019 GMT Article 13 is put to the vote. It is adopted: 358 for, 3 against, with 1 abstention.

Girenko proposes that the commission end its work after it has delivered a report to the Supreme Soviet. Levashev says that the time limit for the work of the commission already has been adopted: 1 December 1991. As soon as a document has been presented to the Supreme Soviet then the work of the commission may be considered over.

Mukhtarov proposes that the commission end its work excluding Article 5, and then withdraws his proposal. Kim makes an amendment which is voted on—it is adopted by 348 for, 3 against, with 7 abstentions.

Belozertsev says there should be no time limit on the work of the commission. Vizirov says all decisions of the Supreme Soviet are binding.

At 1025 GMT Article 14 is put to the vote: 358 for, 3 against, with 4 abstentions. It is adopted. Ignatovich puts forward a proposal on Article 15 regarding the destruction or falisfication of documents.

Ignatovich makes his point again regarding Article 15, asking that the point on destruction of documents be excluded. Levashev says that the wording is broad enough and that experience has shown already that false testimonies and false documents have been given to commissions. Semenko makes a point on disciplinary responsibility and proposes that the Union republics should bring that paragraph in line with their legal code. Levykin says the norms in the draft under discussion are not reflected in law yet so it's quite natural that Semenko should raise the point of responsibility. Voronezhtsev says the commission is not empowered to establish guilt of officials.

Article 16 of the decision on setting up the commission to investigate the causes of the atempted coup is passed.

Deputies Reshetnikov, Lubenchenko, Kim and others intervene as the session returns to Article 6, previously deferred.

At 1051 GMT Nishanov says the conclusion must be that the article needs further work. Let the deputies with proposals go to the foyer and hammer out a form of words. We'll proceed to approving the commission members, he says.

Deputy Gdlyan says he is worried for the officers who arrested him during the coup, who treated him well. He doesn't want them victimized. Only the organizers should be prosecuted, he adds.

Nishanov says the list of proposed commission members has been handed out. Safarov objects to the list because the "reds came and robbed us, and now the whites have come and robbed us". The list should contain two deputies each from the republics, and representatives of Moscow and Leningrad and political caucases.

Deputy Usenbekov says the coup's target was the democratic movement and Sobchak shouldn't be on the list since he is an interested party. Another deputy says that a USSR Supreme Soviet commission should be made up of USSR Supreme Soviet members. Roy Medvedev says too many commission members have an interest. Gninenko asks for Bimbayev to be nominated.

Deputies object to domination of the proposed commission by Russian deputies.

At 1111 GMT Deputy Semenko and Kerimov are nominated for chairman and deputy respectively. Semenko says she doesn't want to serve: her health wouldn't be up to it.

A deputy suggests choosing all members first, who will then select the chairman and officials.

Next, Levashev describes the background to the establishment of the parliamentary commission of inquiry.

Deputy Kerimov also says he can't serve and suggests the Congress should decide. Nishanov says it's not a good idea.

At 1123 GMT a deputy proposes that deputy chairmen of the chambers should get together representatives of republics and groups and decide in the interval.

The debate goes on. Nishanov suggests that a chairman and deputy chairman be chosen now, and the further list be drawn up in the break. He suggests Yudin and Nazarenko for the jobs, and asks for a vote. The vote is halted amid uproar and more arguments. One of the two says he won't stand. A deputy says we must reflect opinions of all in the Supreme Soviet. Nishanov calls for vote on proposed procedure for electing commission members and officials. Two Yakovlevs—A.N. and A.M.—and Kerimov have withdrawn, Nishanov says. Another deputy pulls out.

Nishanov starts reading the list of names, for each of which a vote will be taken. He is interrupted after the first name. The suggestion: is for Oleynik, Mokanu, and Saunin to consult during the break. This proposal is adopted.

At 1140 GMT Levashev comes back to the rostrum with the new wording of Article 6, which is passed paragraph by paragraph. Nishanov proposes the document setting up the commission as a whole: 363 for, 1 against, with 1 abstention. The law is thus passed.

He says the draft document on the Congress has been handed to deputies. Chairmen of the soviets of union and nationalities should open the Congress, with further decisions made by the Congress itself: this is passed.

At 1140 GMT Nishanov calls a 40 minute break.

The relay ends. At 1236 GMT the relay resumes, showing deputies in the hall. Nishanov is still in the chair. Nishanov asks deputies to take their places and to register. He asks members of the Supreme Soviet to take their seats: 383 register, there is a quorum.

At 1241 GMT Nishanov says a group which was formed took advice with republic members; a list of 23 people was drawn up; all candidates will be voted on separately. When all are voted for, those who have more than 50 percent will be in the list, those with less that 50 percent will be left off it. The vote on this procedure shows 334 for. The procedure is adopted. Nishanov calls for registration again in view of late arrival of some deputies: 382 are present this time.

Next Nishanov reads a list of candidates from republics.

At 1327 GMT Levashev speaks from the floor praising the candidates put forward.

Borovik speaks from the floor. It might be a good idea to carry out medical and psychological examinations of the members of the commission before electing them, he says.

Podziruk speaks from the floor. He says all candidates must be left on the list.

Borodin supports Levashev and the candidacy of Belozertsev and Gdlyan. He asks for all to be elected.

At 1334 deputy Kim makes proposals on the formation of commission. Nishanov puts to vote the measure that all deputies who received majority votes to be included in the commission.

Shevlyuga asks that all on the lists be included in the commission. Deputy Kirilov says the list is of a consultative nature. Yudin says we must heed the regulations, and says 12 people cannot work in the commission. He says the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet would be a good person to head the commission.

A deputy says Lukyanov may have been arrested but his spirit is with us today.

At 1348 GMT Nishanov says there are 15 candidates who have received an absolute majority who should be put forward for voting again to form the commission to investigate the state coup. A deputy protests that maybe the 15 are all from Moscow.

At 1350 GMT a preliminary list of commission members is read out; Korshunov, Momotova, Usenbekov, Voskanyan, Abasov, Komarev, Karyagin, Aypin, Pupkevich, Chukhrayev, Lubenchenko, Obolenskiy, Akhunov, Yudin, Podziruk. The list is voted on: 282 for, 24 against, with 11 abstentions.

Deputy Rogozhina speaks from floor and says the regulations do not provide for the voting of such a commission.

Nishanov says we have worked in strict accordance with regulations.

At 1356 GMT, Laptev addresses the Supreme Soviet from the rostrum. He says: "Esteemed colleagues, esteemed people's deputies: Our session, which was supposed to have ended yesterday, has evidently finally reached its conclusion. There will no doubt be a lot of discussion about this session. There is a lot of discussion already.

"Many assessments will be made of each of us and all of us jointly. I would just like to say that the various—no

doubt notable—inadequacies in the session's proceedings should be put above all to the fact that it was the first session prepared by the deputies themselves working at their own initiative. That is why I have come to the rostrum. I would like—if you will let me—to take this opportunity to express my most heartfelt gratitude to the action group of deputies, which worked literally nights on end to prepare for each working day. The action group was headed by Deputy Volkov. [applause]

"I also think you will support the proposal that Rafik Nishanovich has announced in part. We have a list of unfinished business. We have a number of unfinished decisions. Drafts have been submitted. Certain proposals were submitted for detailed examination. We shall defer all this to the next session. At the presidium meeting, which is to be held immediately after this session, we are going to make a decision on the day-to-day work of the Defense and State Security Committee. We need to decide on a responsible person who is now going to deal with day-to-day work.

"If you have no objection, I would like to say a word or two about the forthcoming congress. You know, it is also similarly being prepared largely on the basis of initiatives. Large groups of deputies are at work, sometimes supplementing each other and sometimes overlapping. Now that the congress approaches, and now that we have told each other and heard very many bitter words and been sharply critical in evaluating our actions and our decisions, we should now focus on the fact that the congress will issue a final assessment on us all. We must be ready for that assessment. In other words, the Supreme Soviet must remember that its fate, as ever, lies in the hands of the congress. Of course, each of us is also mindful of his own position and personal prospects. Many have now started submitting statements announcing their departure from the Supreme Soviet. Some people are even making such announcements at the [Supreme Soviet's] microphone. The feelings prompting us to do this are understandable, and we, the chairmen of the chambers, as I have already had occasion to announce from this platform, do not intend to dig in inside this chamber and hang on to our official positions by our teeth. But in reminding you of this, I also want to recall what Deputy Lubenchenko said so convincingly: That today, at a moment when the objective and subjective failures of our legislature as a body have been revealed in such vivid form, it remains nevertheless the only—practically the only—bridge between republics, political parties, and other forces in society that is open to all. However much work we still have to do, then, whether it be a day, a week, a month, perhaps two or three months—that is probably the maximum—let us not shrink from this responsibility. Let us do all we can to see that reciprocal streams of cooperation and mutual understanding pass over this bridge. Even if other people come into this chamber tomorrow, we should still do everything in the time remaining before thir arrival to create for them a certain foundation for this work. Thank you. [applause]"

At 1400 GMT, Nishanov announces that members of the presidium are to meet in a few minutes.

The extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet ends.

Laptev Interviewed on Session

LD3108213491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Interview with I.D. Laptev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union, by unidentified correspondent in Moscow on 31 August; from the "TV Inform" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] How would you assess the results of this session?

[Laptev] It seems to me that the main decisions have been made. These include primarily, the decision, or rather resolution, which gives a very detailed, very trenchant assessment of all of the circumstances linked with the coup d'etat, and an overall assessment of the political system that allowed these processes to develop and lead to such tragic events. The session was also able to elaborate a whole list of measures which it is essential to take, urgently, in order to escape the possibility of a repeat of similar things—to insure ourselves, and primarily the country, from this.

[Correspondent] What role do you think is being allotted to the Congress of People's Deputies?

[Laptev] The Congress will be extraordinarily heated and stormy. It will probably resolve to a large extent the destiny of the Supreme Soviet, and there will probably also be substantial personnel changes—that goes without saying. I hope it will set some definite timescale for preparing a new draft Union treaty, or for elaborating some kind of provisional agreement. The Congress and the Supreme Soviet are structures which are, of course, subjected to strong and often justified criticism. At the same time they are the only bridge between the republics, the only connecting link which can function under current conditions.

[Correspondent] Having failed to resolve the fundamental issue—what kind of state there will be—is it possible to resolve the economic problems in these conditions?

[Laptev] Both have to be addressed together. We do not have time, and there is no possibility of first putting one aside, resolving something else, and then returning to the first thing. There is in this a certain tragic quality to our situation.

TASS Reviews Proceedings

LD3108180491 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The extraordinary session of the Soviet parliament ended today with the

setting up of a parliamentary commission for resolving the problem of calling to account those officials who are guilty of violating the Soviet Constitution.

The main task of the supreme legislative authority of the country was to give an official assessment of the coup and the role played by the leaders of the parliament and state authorities in those developments.

The session that lasted six days adopted a resolution on the situation that emerged in the country as a result of the coup. It gave an assessment of the role played by the state authorities and political organisations in the developments of August 19-21. The resolution says that "the stand assumed by the supreme bodies of state power of the USSR promoted the tragic development of events."

One of the items of the resolution suspends the activities of the Soviet Communist Party on the whole of the territory of the Soviet Union "on the basis of existing information about the participation of its steering bodies in preparing and staging the coup of August 19-21."

The USSR public prosecutor's office was assigned to investigate the participation of the steering bodies of the Soviet Communist Party in the putsch and, if it obtains evidence proving it, to submit the materials to the USSR Supreme Court.

The federal parliament gave its consent to the institution of criminal proceedings against former chairman of the parliament Anatoliy Lukyanov. According to USSR Prosecutor-General Nikolay Trubin, "very serious evidence proving that USSR people's deputy and chairman of the Soviet parliament Anatoliy Lukyanov took part in the plot aimed at the seizure of power, together with members of the State Emergency Committee, was obtained" in the course of the investigation into the coup case.

The session adopted a resolution on priority measures to prevent coup attempts and approved the presidential decree on non-confidence to the Cabinet of Ministers.

Reports made at the session by President Gorbachev, chairman of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov, Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev and many others dealt with causes of the attempted coup and the future of the Union. Representatives of some republics expressed more clearly than before the striving for the confederate principle of the formation of the union. Following those reports, President Gorbachev pointed with concern to the growth of centrifugal trends and urged legislators to take measures to preserve the Union.

The supreme legislative authority not only prepared the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies, which opens next Monday, but also took some urgent decisions permitting the functioning of the state during this difficult period and ensuring its security. At the request of President Gorbachev, the Soviet parliament included in the Security Council heads of the republics, which participated in the Novo-Ogarevo process, specifically Russia, the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyztan, Turkmenia and Tajikistan. Two members of the prevous Security Council—Vadim Bakatin and Yevgeniy Primakov—joined the new one.

The parliament approved presidential decrees on the appointment of Bakatin to the post of chairman of the State Security Committee (KGB), Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov—Soviet defence minister and Viktor Barannikov—Soviet interior minister.

Deputy Speaks on Tatarstan Situation 26 Aug

LD3108144991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1329 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Speech by Deputy Shaymiyev at USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies. The putsch has been put down. The population of the republic is discussing what has happened with indignation, and looks with faith on the irreversibility of the democratic processes in our renewed society. For the country with its tense nerves, some time will probably be necessary to regain a normal situation. It is only in a normal situation that balanced steps can be taken. We cannot continue to rush now to the right, now to the left, and run to extremes.

Proceeding from this I want to bring to the attention of the Supreme Soviet people's deputies our concern as regards the attempts of certain forces and parts of the mass media to whip up passions around the republic of Tatarstan. In this regard I reject the claim that the republic's leadership participated in implementing the illegal decisions of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]. Not a single decision by that anti-constitutional body was implemented. Moreover, having assessed the situation in the country as critical, we firmly stated that the authority in the sovereign republic of Tatarstan belongs to the legally elected bodies and the republic's president elected by the whole people, and no committee from the SCSE was created.

Proceeding from a situation where there were various mutually exclusive directives and instructions, we adopted our own balanced decisions. In my appeal to the people of Tatarstan we decisively confirmed the course toward the democratization of all spheres of public life and the policy of social economic reforms. We appealed to the workers and the peasants, the working intelligentsia and the youth, to atheists and believers, to political parties and public organizations, to maintain at this critical time restraint and orderliness; and we asked the mass media to show the maximum balance during this time. And as it turned out, this was the right step, allowing any social shocks to be avoided in the republic.

I cannot understand at all the efforts of certain individuals from the mass media to whip up unhealthy passions in the republic after the event. A number of central newspapers, the First Program of All-Union Radio, and

Russian Television are spreading open distortions of the positions of the public's leadership.

Some people want to pass off their wishes as facts. This is intolerable, and we decisively protest against this. The question arises, and in Tatarstan very many people are asking it at the present time: Isn't all this dictated by the effort to use the moment to throw a shadow on the well-known, uncomfortable position of Tatarstan on realizing its own state sovereignty, which was seized by the minds of its people? Isn't this an attempt to draw such a calm, confident, hard-working republic into the interethnic violence and the process of social destabilization.

I particularly want to stress once more that the efforts of Tatarstan to independently and directly sign the Union treaty are the result of the growth of its multinational people's self- consciousness, which was possible thanks to the democratization of our society; and these processes are becoming irreversible. They cannot be repressed, even by the strongest expressions directed against the republic of Tatarstan.

Incidentally, as the result of many days of talks, recently official delegations from Russia and Tatarstan have recorded respect and understanding of the republic of Tatarstan's efforts to raise its status. For this we are grateful to the Russian leadership and President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. I would like to hope that these efforts will be realized. At the same time I want to once more state that we have been, and are, taking into account the historically formed multilateral links and the realities of the present time, and want to deepen and develop them further on the basis of a treaty with the Russian Federation. The formula for the treaty with the Russian Federation was put forward by us, and with every day it finds ever-greater understanding.

There is a business-like situation in the republic of Tatarstan today. The peoples of the republic live and work in mutual understanding, and we value this. And we all must make efforts to preserve mutual understanding and friendship both in multinational Russia and the country as a whole. The economic policies being conducted by us give a basis for hope that the food supply to the population will not be permitted to fall and that all branches of the national economy will work normally in winter conditions.

In conclusion I want to say that the people have grown tired of the endless logomachy and political intrigue. The lessons of this terrible history in the conditions of the reborn hopes of people for improved living conditions must be strengthened by a thought-out, constructive, decisive economic policy and by increasing the authority of the legally elected bodies of power, and in the first place of the country's president.

Thank you for your attention.

Deputies Discuss 'Tragedy' of Starodubtsev

LD3008224991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0655 GMT 30 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 30 Aug (TASS)—The tragedy of Vasiliy Starodubtsev is in the logical result of the contradictions in the character of this person, said Aleksey Emelyanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet committee for agriculture and food policies, expressing his personal view.

He noted in an interview with a TASS correspondent that Starodubtsev demonstrated more and more authoritarian outbursts during recent years; he despised democrats; he did not understand that the disturbances arose from inevitability and arose from the inactivity of our leadership; he also despised Gorbachev - especially after a clash at one of the meetings at the CPSU Central Committee, when Gorbachev sharply rebuffed the leader of the USSR Peasant's Union who thought the main reason for the food crisis in the country was insufficient investments in agriculture and not the vicious circle of economic relations in the agrarian sector. [passage omitted]

Gennadiy Menshenin, consultant for the USSR Supreme Soviet committee for agriculture and food policies, told TASS that the deputies from the agricultural sector sharply distanced themselves from Vasiliy Starodubtsev at a meeting which took place on 28 August by connecting his participation in the junta with the conservative position he had taken up when discussing agrarian reforms. The parliament committee sees its main role precisely in accelerating and radicalizing the reforms relating to issues on land ownership and on the principles of developing agriculture which have already been outlined.

Legislators on Nuclear Arms Control During Coup

OW3008124091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1050 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Dr. Evgeniy Velikhov who is a member of the Supreme Soviet told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent on Thursday that he is greatly concerned over the lack of attention to "what the situation in the Soviet nuclear forces was like during the coup" on the part of the Supreme Soviet. He intends to raise this issue at the present Supreme Soviet session, said E. Velikhov. In the meantime Dr.Yuriy Osipyan, also Supreme Soviet member, told IF's correspondent the same day that the situation concerning nuclear forces was known to the USSR president. Accordin to Y. Osipyan, the conspirators evidently were in the possession of codes controlling the nuclear forces, but there is a reliable duplicate system there. So, even though technically the conspirators were

in a position to blackmail other countries and international organizations, they had no practical opportunity to launch missiles, said Y. Osipyan.

Congress of People's Deputies

Special Congress Session Opens 2 September

LD0209072391 Moscow TASS in English 0717 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 2 TASS—A special Congress of Soviet People's Deputies began in Moscow today to discuss measures to overcome the results of the recent coup and decide the future of the Soviet Union.

The congress is expected to elect a vice president, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, nominate a prosecutor general and decide other issues.

The Soviet parliament, at a special session last week, also recommended the congress to discuss recognising the independence of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

Deputies began the forum with observing a minute's silence in memory of victims killed during the failed coup attempt.

A total of 1,900 deputies registered for the congress.

Agenda Adopted; Three-Day Session

LD0209142191 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 2 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow September 2 TASS—The Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies that opened in the Kremlin today adopted the agenda proposed by Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev, and the deputies decided to conclude the congress within three days.

On the agenda is the statement of the president of the USSR and top officials of ten republics and their proposed measures for the signing of a Union treaty and creation of new structures of authorities for a transitional period.

The agenda of the Congress endorsed by the union parliament yesterday has been completely changed.

The statement read out today has been supported by deputies of the ten republics whose leaders signed the document—Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Armenia, Turkmenia. It has also been supported by the USSR Committee of Constitutional Compliance.

The Presidium of the Congress today decided to discuss the possibility of including the recognition of independence of union republics on the agenda.

Laptev Opens Congress

LD0209082491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0702 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Opening speech by Ivan Dmitrevich Laptev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union, at Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies. Esteemed president of the USSR. Dear guests. Fellow countrymen. Our country is living through and overcoming the grievous consequences of the political crime committed by people whose job it was to defend and protect this country. With each passing day both the principal forces responsible for the coup d'etat and its monstrous aims become clearer. But with each passing day the significance of the courageous feat of those who rallied to the defense of our democracy, which has not yet consolidated itself, and our freedom, also becomes clearer and more profoundly understood. Some of them are not able today to share in the joy of the victory over the forces of evil and reaction, since they sacrificed their lives—which in general had only just started—for this victory. Let us honor their shining memory. [15-second silence]

Please be seated.

By 2000 yesterday, the congess registration services reported that 1,616 deputies had arrived for the congress. Today it is reported that 1,900 deputies have registered. This makes it possible for me to declare the Fifth Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies open.

I wish to stress at the same time that our extraordinary congress is an emergency one in the full sense of the word. In view of this, the presidium which will be conducting the congress sessions will repeatedly have to depart from the usual stereotyped forms of running these congresses. I will have to make one of these departures immediately.

As you will know, a meeting took place yesterday between the USSR president and the presidents, chairmen of supreme soviets, and other leading figures from 11 republics. The participants in this meeting drew up and signed a special statement addressed to our congress. By authorization of the republican leaders, I will hand over to Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, to read of the text of the statement. Over to you, deputy Nazarbayev.

Nazarbayev Statement on Union Relations

LD0209085791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0703 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Statement read by Nursultan Nazarbayev at the opening session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies extraordinary session in the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Dear people's deputies: With the authority of the president and the top leaders of ten republics, I have a

statement to proclaim that was worked out yesterday, last night, and this morning:

Statement of the USSR president and the top leaders of Union republics:

As a result of the coup d'etat carried out on 19 to 21 August, the process of forming new Union relations among sovereign states was broken off, and this brought the country to the verge of catastrophe. The situation in the country after the putsch, if it had got out of control, might have brought about unforetold consequences both within the country and also in relations with foreign states. We declare that the breakdown of the conspiracy and the victory of democratic forces inflicted a serious blow to the reactionary forces and to everything that was holding up the process of democratic change. This very fact has been created a historic opportunity for speeding up radical changes and for the country's renewal.

In these circumstances, and in order to prevent the further collapse of the structures of authority, to create a new political and state system of relations among republics and to establish interrepublican union structures of authority for the transitional period until a new constitution is adopted and elections to new bodies of authority are held on its basis, the country's legally elected highest leaders, in the person of the USSR president and the presidents and chairmen of the supreme soviets of the republics, have agreed on the need for the following:

1. All willing republics to prepare and sign a treaty on a Union of sovereign states, in which each of them will be able independently to determine the form of its participation in the Union.

2. To propose to all republics, independently of the status they proclaim, to conclude immediately an economic union in order to cooperate in the framework of a single free economic area and for the sake of the normal functioning of the national economy, the provision of vital services to the population, and the accelerated implementation of radical economic reforms.

3. In the transitional period, to create a council of representatives of people's deputies on the principle of equal representation from the Union republics—20 deputies each from the USSR and republican deputies delegated by their Supreme Soviets—to tackle general matters of principle.

A State Council, made up of the USSR president and the supreme state officials of the republics, should be set up to resolve in a coordinated way questions of internal and external policy that concern the common interests of the republics. For coordination of economic management and economic reform, an interim interrepublican economic committee, made up of representatives of all republics on the basis of parity, is to be set up. After it has been prepared, the draft constitution should be examined and endorsed by the parliaments of Union republics and finally adopted at a congress of authorized representatives of Union republics.

It should be confirmed that all elected deputies are to retain their status as USSR people's deputies for the entire period for which they were elected. In this connection, we appeal to the Congress to suspend temporarily the corresponding articles of the USSR Constitution.

4. An agreement should be concluded, based on the principles of collective security, in the sphere of defense in order to preserve united armed forces and a single military-strategic area and to carry out radical reforms in the armed forces, the USSR KGB, the Internal Affairs Ministry, and the USSR Procuratorate in a manner that takes account of the republics' sovereignty.

5. It should be confirmed that all international agreements and undertakings made by the USSR, including questions involving the reduction and control of armaments, and external economic obligations, will be strictly honored.

6. To adopt a declaration guaranteeing the rights and freedom of citizens regardless of their nationality, place of residence, membership of a political party or political views, and also guaranteeing the rights of national minorities.

7. To request that the USSR Congress of People's Deputies support the appeals to the United Nations by the leaders of the Union republics to acknowledge them as subjects of international law, and to examine the question of their membership in this organization.

In connection with the urgency of carrying out the measures indicated, which have been dictated by the situation that has arisen, we appeal to the Congress to urgently adopt a resolution on the issues put forward.

The statement was signed by the USSR president and the top leaders of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgystan, Tajikistan, Armenia and Turkmenia. Georgia—a Georgian representative—took part in the work.

Several republics made criticisms during the process of the work overnight and this morning. These criticisms have been ironed out.

In connection with the corresponding statement, esteemed people's deputies, you will be handed a second statement on the agenda for our work which has also been signed by all the above- mentioned top leaders.

1. We propose, taking into account the situation and the time at which the Congress is being held, that a proposal be submitted to hold the Congress over three days.

2. To include on the agenda the issue of the joint statement by the USSR president and the top officials from the republics, to examine the measures put forward, and to adopt the corresponding resolutions.

After the break that will now be announced for discussing the statement by the delegations, the congress is to elect the working presidium consisting of the USSR president and the heads or representatives of the republics. At the first session they are to instruct President Gorbachev to act as chairman and then to assume the chairmanship in turns. Thank you for your attention.

Sobchak on Support for Proposals

LD0209125191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1100 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies. At a meeting of USSR People's Deputies from Russia, the following decision was made: to support the statement by the USSR president and top officials of the republics on measures to stabilize the situation and create new state structures for the transitional period; to adopt the measures proposed in the statement in principle; and to continue work on setting up the kind of structures of the transitional period that will halt the uncontrollable collapse of the country, that will make it possible to create a single economic space through an immediate conclusion of an economic union, a single military-strategic space, through the conclusion of an appropriate agreement on measures for collective security and reform of the army, and a single political space, through the adoption of a declaration on citizens' and human rights irrespective of nationality, domicile, membership of this or that party, political views, and so on.

The deputies from Russia approved these provisions almost unanimously—only eight were against—and they asked that this be reported to the congress. [applause]

Russian Deputies Support Statement

LD0209120791 Moscow TASS in English 1155 GMT 2 Sep 91

[By TASS Parliamentary Correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow September 2 TASS—A majority of USSR people's deputies from Russia, who gathered at Russia's "White House", decided to support a statement by the president of the USSR and the leaders of ten union republics. The statement was read out at the opening of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies here today.

The statement signed yesterday suggests all republics, who so wish, urgently conclude a Union Treaty in any form acceptable to them and to all republics, irrespective of their current status, and conclude an economic union.

It is suggested that temporary structures be formed for the transitional period. Actually, acceptance of this scheme signifies the removal of the USSR People's Deputies' Congress, which is known for its rather conservative positions, from the political scene.

For an hour today, representatives of the Russian leadership and their supporters in the Union parliament were busy persuading 600 Union deputies representing Russia into supporting the Union and republican leadership's sudden demarche that almost reversed the agenda endorsed by the USSR Supreme Soviet earlier.

When presenting the statement to the deputies, Russia's Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy set out the stand of the Russian leadership. The main task now is to "preserve the union", "act so that the congress would take the course which it should follow," and "take specific measures to prevent the country from plunging into a crisis spiral", he said.

Rutskoy as well as Anatoliy Sobchak, who spoke next, categorically opposed an attempt to seek the resignation of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev at the Congress, "as is being demanded by some deputies' groups".

USSR People's Deputy Yuriy Boldyrev urged Union deputies "to assess the political situation realistically", realise that "it is impossible to maintain the full authority of the Congress" and "promote the transfer of power to republican structures".

A number of speakers voiced a different point of view. Viktor Kiselev protested against the virtual annulment of the earlier endorsed agenda, saying "we are being placed in a ridiculous position" and maintaining that "the putsch is virtually going on".

A number of the most intransigent deputies walked out before the vote. During the voting, a majority of those present still declared in favour of supporting the statement at the Congress, accepting it as a basis.

Nazarbayev: Republics Should Join Union Freely

LD0109210491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" Newscast]

[Text] The extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which is to open tomorrow, will undoubtedly be very complex and we have reason to say that this time it will be a decisive congress. Forecasts are being made already today. An extract from an interview with Kazakh President Nazarbayev also provides food for thought.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Nursultan Abishevich, you took part in the meeting of the leaders of the sovereign states which took place today on the eve of the congress. Do you believe that the congress is capable of producing the documents which will help to keep the Union intact.

[Nazarbayev] Of course. The main issue is the Union treaty of the sovereign states, which must be signed. But, taking the current situation into account—that which

has come about after the putsch—we think that it is necessary to allow the republics to join this union freely, of their own accord, and in any form. There should be no diktat whatsoever with regard to this. I stress; to join it freely. Leaders of both Armenia and Georgia were present at our meeting today. They affirmed this. We had a very good conversation—the first time in such a composition. We understood each other well. [video shows Nazarbayev interviewed at the registration of deputies] [end recording]

Political & Social

Gorbachev Interviewed by Yegor Yakovlev

LD0109171191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1442 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Interview with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev by Yegor Yakovlev, head of Soviet radio and television, and CNN Moscow correspondent Steve Hurst at the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Yakovlev] Mikhail Sergeyevich, the world has intently followed the events in our country. Therefore, when you agreed to give an interview to Central Television I decided to invite our colleagues from CNN. First, because our meeting will be known to the whole world, thanks to this American television company. And second, because my colleague Steve carried out direct reports from the White House continuously, for three days, during those hard days ...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Our White House?

[Yakovlev] Our White House. It was a little calmer in their White House. Therfore, this is why we are both interviewing you.

[Gorbachev] Very well.

[Yakovlev] The first question. In general, the putsch did not hold out, even for three days. But its effect is still great in the society, even today. There have appeared many of those who would like to find out who was where, doing and thinking what. A little more—and we shall have lists of the clean and not clean, the reds and the whites. This is very dangerous for the society. How should society be helped in curing itself of this putsch syndrome?

[Gorbachev] Well, first of all, I think we should proceed from realizing that the reason this putsch was doomed to failure from the very beginning is because society, as it has become today, would not accept it.

[Yakovlev] This is understood...

[Gorbachev] This is the first. The second. In connection with this I would like to say it straight away that the measures, the punitive measures in regard to the legal consequences of this putsch, should be applied to the organisers, the direct participants, the conspirators. And this does not apply to the people, the individuals. This does not apply to the Army units which were brought in, and the Army was on the people's side. This also does not apply to some organizations which received orders but remained in their places, and went on with their job keeping the country together, and did not join, did not take this path. This also means the communists, and members of other parties who had no connections with the coup organisers—moreover, millions have renounced them. Therefore we should say this firmly, in order that people know, and that the democrats, those who have defeated the putschists, can do everything so that people do not form the impression that now there will be a search, a witch-hunt, that the extremists will be found out and the circle of those responsible widened. No, the responsibility should be borne by the direct organizers, who are guilty. I have given instructions to all the procurators, the Union and republican ministries of internal affairs, along state security channels to carry this opinion to our people, both in public and through their own departmental channels. Such is the view shared by all the republics. I have just been meeting them.

[Hurst, in English with superimposed Russian translation] Mr. President, thank you for being with us, thank you very much. [words indistinct] not long ago, about the party congress coming up—the Congress of People's Deputies. And he said that you were going to make the speech of your political life. I would like to know what you will say in your speech at the congress.

[Gorbachev] You know, I think the situation is such that we must learn all the lessons from what has happened, however difficult they may be for us; we must be relentless in our analysis, and our measures must be decisive. People no longer expect debate as much as they did. The situation is already clear. The reasons have been pinpointed. We now need measures, actions which return the whole of our society to its normal channel. We have enough problems to solve. The people expect solutions to these problems and are counting, first and foremost, on that. Therefore this morning I had a working meeting with the leaders of 11 republics, who gathered together with the country's president to work out their positions. Maybe—I have to continue my talks with them after this—we will emerge not with a report by the president but with the collective views, positions of the republics, on measures which are essential. I think people should expect to hear from us an answer to the question of what the future of the Union will be, and all the republics, which participated in this meeting with me, have a position on this. Our Union must be preserved, but it must take into account, it must be based on foundations, on approaches, on principles which would make it possible to realize the new factors that have arisen in recent days. But the people expect the Congress to come out in support of this position.

We are in favor of immediately concluding an economic agreement between the 15 republics, in order to create all the necessary conditions, remove the obstacles, and take advantage of the result that we have obtained and the

possibilities which have again been opened since the defeat of the putschists—to develop active cooperation in the framework of a single economic space, and remove the barriers to cooperation with our Western partners. That is a very precise and detailed position of all the republics. They are all willing to take part in this, in such an agreement.

And finally, it is evident that during the transitional period which we have to go through on the way to forming a new treaty, a new economic agreement, an economic union, the adoption of a new constitution and the conducting of elections, we have to have bodies of power which can gain the trust of the country. This means that we have to put forward to the congress proposals on this matter. They are already being prepared. The wordings are being finalized in order to present them to the Congress tomorrow. This is the case with the whole complex of issues worrying society, and it is counting on the Congress to have them resolved in a short period. The proposals will be put forward for its attention. We are expecting that the congress must show responsibility, a business-like attitude, and take a principle stand, and must resolve these fundamental issues during two-three days. The country must get an answer to what worries it.

[Yakovlev] So generally speaking, Mikhail Sergeyevich, at the present moment the issue of preserving the Union is the main dramatic issue of the day to you? Do I understand you correctly?

[Gorbachev] I think this is the important thing to our society.

[Yakovlev] ...For society.

[Gorbachev] I can see what kind of reaction there is to this. I am sure you feel this at television and radio. People are very worried about this. I have to tell you, Steve, that the anxiety of the world community also reaches us—of all the nations, including the American nation—about the fate of the Union. This has been heard in our society. That is why the general mood is that yes, this will be a new union. This will be a formula for a union of sovereign states with a great degree of freedom for the republics, but at the same time it will ensure cooperation between all the subjects of this new union, in the interests of the peoples.

Naturally, there will be such links as—perhaps confederative links will appear, and associative links. That is, various kinds of—a variety of forms of links will appear.

[Yakovlev] So this means that a path is being built, and the result will depend on how well the path is built. And later on, this path will be asphalted.

[Gorbachev] Yes, yes. Generally speaking, this is a most important stage, a most important stage.

[Hurst] You have said that you are a changed man since the coup, and are ready to make other decisions. As far as the Baltic republics are concerned, what will you have to say at the congress on this subject? Will they be able to attain independence at once?

[Gorbachev] In the first place, what I have already said opens up possibilities for each republic to make its own choice for itself. It has to become clear which ones are willing to conclude a Union treaty, which ones want to have associative status in relation to the Union treaty, and which republics are to go their own way. Though, as I see it, where economic cooperation is concerned, there is a large degree of accord here among all 15 republics. So all these possibilities also open up the way to resolving everything that has come to a head, while at the same time taking account of the opinions of every people in every republic. And the problem of the Baltic republics features on the Congress agenda as a problem in its own right.

[Yakovlev] Mikhail Sergeyevich, I can hardly claim to be a prophet if I say that at the coming Congress the question of your resignation may be raised. So I would like to know how you would react to this, and particularly so in this situation—by which I wish to underline the following. The Congress of People's Deputies is entitled to dismiss the president, but the Congress of People's Deputies does not have the right to elect a new president. If you were to resign today, therefore, this would mean that the country would be left without its supreme official for a lengthy period, until a new president was elected by the whole people. So how would you react if the question of your resignation were to arise at the Congress?

[Gorbachev] I would say this: that I will not hand in my resignation now. It would be immoral, regardless of other aspects, at this present most difficult stage, when decisions must be made which will determine whether the policy we embarked upon in 1985 is to be maintained in the future. I shall not permit myself as a man, as a citizen, to go away somewhere or other—and I will therefore not resign. But—but...

[Yakovlev, interrupting] But what if you were to lose your temper for the last time and say I'm resigning. There have been such instances.

[Gorbachev] Yes, but if—I will place—if—there is one condition—that the Union remains. As for the Congress, let it go ahead and discuss the question. I will also find things to say to the Congress. I have things to say to the Congress—and there is a bill to be settled. I see—I have spoken of my own responsibility, and I am not retracting that. I have given voice to my own analysis. I have given my evaluation of the causes for what happened. But at the same time, the fact that the putsch failed—both internally and externally—this would not have come about if it had not been for the profound reforms and changes carried out both inside the country and in international relations.

And this, I think...

[Yakovlev] You know...

[Gorbachev] There is about a certain part I played...

[Yakovlev] You know, there is a formulation to the effect that Gorbachev was a culprit of the putsch, and not a participant in its destruction. A culprit in the sense it was the people around him who planned the putsch, and that if the democracy which Gorbachev has fought for since 1985 had not existed, the putsch would never have been crushed.

[Gorbachev] You know, I think that what has happened during these last few days requires serious analysis. I merely reject all conjectures on this score about the president's position. The president's position was most principled, and this muddled all the cards of the putsch organizers and opened up opportunities for us, combining our efforts from all sides, to ensure defeat.

[Hurst] One quick follow-up question, and then one further. Do I understand you correctly? I do not want to put this very trenchantly, but, all the same, if the Baltic states do continue to demand independence as, say Lithuania and, as we know, European countries intend to recognize them on Monday, and evidently the United States as well, what is your attitude to this?

[Gorbachev] My attitude is this. This fits in with my ideas about the development of the situation within the framework of the reformation of our Union, for this approach opens up opportunities for every people and every republic to make use of its constitutional right to self-determination. And consequently, if this is the final will and intention of the peoples of these republics, then we will have, I think, to agree to this.

[Yakovlev] Mikhail Sergeyevich, all in all, there are times when the time forces the leader, or head of a country, to speak in a somewhat different voice than that which could have been used previously. I have to say that since you returned from your incarceration in Foros—forgive me—you have, generally speaking, taken your own series of very resolute steps. You have drawn closer to your people, generally speaking all those who behaved resolutely during the days of the putsch—I mean Yeltsin, Sobchak, and Aleksandr Yakovlev. But to be frank, I cannot see among your entourage today the person who first warned us of danger, who spoke loudest of danger, and a very determined person. I mean Eduard Shevardnadze. I am very anxious about his future.

[Gorbachev] I think, you know, that Eduard Amvrosiyevich, both then and now, occupies a very clear position, a precise and principled position in support of continuing the course we began in 1985. From that point of view all that's been done together [long pause] with him I assess highly, and I have a very high regard for the relations that existed and still exist between us—and, I consider, remain. I think that as a result of the fact that a very great regrouping of political forces and reshuffling of cadres is going to occur, we must not fail to make use of the potential of this man, of this politician—major politician; and I think that this is something for the very near future.

[Yakovlev] Could you tell us, as a secret, in what way?

[Gorbachev] I think the experience which he has—he has experience both in domestic and foreign politics—would allow him, for example, now within the context of the new structures, to take care of the external—external economic—external and external economic departments.

[Hurst] A quick question: we're all concerned about the health of Mrs. Gorbachev. That's the first question. The second question is Mr. Yeltsin. Your relation with him has seemed an emotional one over a number of years. And now, after the coup, your relations have changed somewhat, and it seems to the outside world, and actually to Soviet people, too, that you are now sharing power with him, or at least that you make decisions jointly. Could you tell us first about Raisa Maksimovna's health, and second what your relations are with Boris Nikolayevich?

[Gorbachev] Well, first, in answer to your question about Raisa Maksimovna, I want to thank both you and those who who have expressed sympathy, and generally shared the worries that have fallen on me and my family and Raisa Maksimovna. Raisa Maksimovna behaved with courage. And fortunately, she supported my decision, and declared that she was ready to share my fate to the end, at whatever cost. You understand what I am talking about. It's quite clear, we are people who are capable of understanding. And I am very proud of that. That is the first thing.

Secondly, at the moment when they said—it was the BBC, actually, that reported it—that a group of conspirators was coming, allegedly with the aim of showing the Soviet people and public opinion what sort of a state Gorbachev was in, everyone perceived that something perfidious and terrible had been thought up. At that moment Raisa Maksimovna had a very nasty turn, which had certain consequences—I don't even want to talk about it. But fortunately we were near her, and that saved the situation; we were together. Now everything is getting back to normal, everything is OK, everything is OK, it's just time that is needed. But she is already talking, I think she is already—yesterday or today, she even gave a short telephone interview. So everything is OK, thank you.

The second question: when I say we all have a great deal of rethinking to do after what happened to us, I include in this rethinking relations between democrats, democrats of various hues and trends—let's put it that way.

I think I have already stated that one of the reasons why the putschists decided to act and risk what they did, why we were not able to act in time—why, perhaps, we did not sort out everything in such a way as to prevent such a putsch happening—was lack of organization and, in some areas, even dissension among democratic forces. This is, I think, a lesson for all democrats. This is a lesson for me and, I think, for Boris Nikolayevich, too. We are all pondering this. However, I have to say that we

learned a lesson as far back as the winter and early spring, when the Novo-Ogarevo process began developing. That was when a serious reassessment took place. This is what led us up to the signing of the new Union treaty, to cooperation in resolving questions. This is what frightened those people. They saw that their time was running out. I think that if anybody is now thinking of driving a wedge between Gorbachev and Yeltsin, of trying to make them clash with each other, to drive them apart again in some way—and there will be such attempts—I think that bitter experience has taught us that we must not let ourselves be provoked into this. That will be ruled out. We are cooperating in the context of that immense responsibility which has fallen to us at this exceptionally crucial time for the destiny of our country, just as we are with other presidents. I am sure that this is how it will continue.

[Yakovlev] Steve and I would like to thank you for finding time—you have a heavy day tomorrow, and it only remains for us to wish you success, and hope you'll get a little rest before tomorrow.

[Gorbachev] Now I'll go and do some work with the republics.

[Yakovlev] Thank you again.

[Gorbachev] Goodbye.

[Yakovlev] Goodbye.

KGB Chief Bakatin Holds News Conference

Makes Opening Statement

LD3008185891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1200 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Opening statement by KGB Chairman Vadim Bakatin at a news conference at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow; relay begins with news conference in progress—live]

[Text] ... less, for some reason or other. I don't know, obviously, there was less interest. And I said then that I did not believe in the possibility of a coup. I must admit my naivete in this respect.

But I said then, also, that I was convinced that, at best, it was an illusion, and a very dangerous illusion to think that law- enforcement bodies, and especially, law-enforcement bodies which bear the stamp of the past, punitive system, were capable of guaranteeing the security of society, the security of the state, and especially the security of the individual. Rather, the reverse was more likely to happen. Strictly speaking, that's what happened, too. We saw that putsch, that coup, and... [changes thought] But it's another matter that as far as you and I are concerned, rather, not as far as you and I personally are concerned, but as far as society is concerned, that at least, the conditions for carrying out these wild designs do not exist today.

And unfortunately, the participation of the Committee for State Security, or perhaps, rather more precisely, probably, not the committee, as a whole, but the participation of the leadership of that committee in the conspiracy, strictly speaking, bears out that idea expressed by me here in this hall in March of this year.

But, you know, I have been instructed by the Supreme Soviet—yesterday the Supreme Soviet approved me in the post of chairman of the Committee for State Security—and have been instructed, strictly speaking, by the presidents of the republics who put forward that proposal by the president of the USSR that I head, well, the USSR Committee for State Security.

I wanted to complain to you or, perhaps, to share with you the complexity of this situation and the compexity of the task facing me now. It is necessary for me, apart from simply fulfilling the functions which are laid on the chairman, also to reform this body quickly, to reform this committee, because the instruction to do this is just the second paragraph of the decree. The difficulty is that it has to be done quickly—to get rid of reactionary forces that are still in the committee, on the one hand, to preserve honest people, on the other hand, and not to lose professionals, on the third hand. [as heard] This is the difficulty. There is also one condition, which introduces great difficulty but which is indisputable and we must observe it to the full extent: lawfulness. Moreover, lawfulness, which in the conditions of legal vacuum and in the conditions of universal rejoicing for this victory, which the people won, first of all, the people of Russia, unfortunately, is very often violated now. So far I, you certainly perfectly understand, can talk to you only about intentions. I cannot even talk to you as if a meteorologist were talking to you now about some weather forecast. I can talk only about the intentions that I hope to implement today, leaning on democratic forces.

What are these intentions? I would like to say that I think there will be many questions, probably, many concrete questions, but I would like to say in advance that I will simply not try to define the extent of personal responsibility of some leaders now and simply, you can imagine, I do not have the right to do so. The investigation of the departmental commission which finished yesterday... strickly speaking, it has not been reported to me yet, but it does not matter much... but the parliamentary commission which only yesterday started its activity, as far as I know, has already gathered before you and promised to inform you in detail. So, this subject will, at least, I think that you will not hear much from me on the subject. The situation in society is super-critical and only one thing can help us, of course, not the reformation of the Committee for State Security, but the only thing that will help us: decisive action in switching the economy to true market relations. This is the very basis of things.

This is the very basis for getting out of the crisis. But there is one condition, the main and indispensable condition, without which this will simply not be possible to implement: the question of preserving the Union.

Because—I mentioned this before—the conspirators have succeeded in at least one thing: what they were trying to achieve in part was to frustrate signing of the Union agreement, the Union treaty, and they have succeeded in this. That is why we should take this victory away from them, to sign the Union treaty—in any form, without arguing about the lesser points and the strength of the administrative ties—and as soon as possible. This is simply necessary and this opportunity is not yet lost. This is the main condition. And after we have worked out our position on this the principles of forming the all-Union Committee for State Security or some other body which will carry out these functions will become fully clear. It absolutely does not matter at this stage what it will be called, but it is the fact that state security is an inevitable attribute in any state and there are no problems here.

At the same time, I would probably not be accepting your invitation to come here to this news conference, and you too need not have come here, if I were not going to try and disclose to you the intentions and basic principles that we are going to follow. Certainly, they are clear even now. I think that lawfulness should be put at the head of everything, this is probably clear, and the rights of the individual should form the basis of all our actions, all our reforms, and all the future work of the Committee for State Security. This, probably, is self-evident, and you will agree with it. Full and unconditional departyization. The third is preservation of the integrity of our system along with colossal decentralization while absolutely clearly enforcing the role of the republican bodies. The fifth, or the fourth—I am not counting on my fingers—is openness, the openness to society, so it understands our actions. And, probably, the sixth is to end the monopoly which the Committee for State Security held being a state within a state. It was essentially its structure, dangerous for the society, that enabled these conspirators to begin implementation of their schemes during the first few days—sucessfully, to a certain extent.

The fact of the matter is that we should hand over the functions that are not really ours to other state structures.

First and foremost: the KGB forces. These forces have already been transfered completely to the Soviet Army by presidential decree, and now, to a certain extent, I am simply happy that I do not have any opportunity to move any forces anywhere at all—I simply do not have them. That capability has been removed and even should I want to do this, it is already too late to do anything. But I hope that you do not suspect me of this.

The second thing is the presidential guard. It is totally out of the ordinary when the protection...when that body which protects the president then also detains him, so to speak. Therefore, the task of guarding the president has been handed over to his direct command and today I am not responsible for the activities of these guards. I think that this is probably the correct way to act.

All of our basic funds, all of our cadres, and all of our administration connected with providing special communications, and with enciphering and deciphering have been handed over to the newly formed state committee for special communications. That is to say, this sort of committee has been set up. The Committee for State Security now has to...[corrects himself] also cannot influence communications in any way. In my view, that action absolutely is the correct one.

Further, I can say that a proposal is being prepared that the border troops should become simply border troops rather than USSR KGB border troops—they will be border troops of the Soviet Socialist Republics. This decree already is almost prepared, and no great difficulties should arise in implementing it.

There are other thoughts and other intentions, but we should not hurry on these. We need to think a little, for example about handing over military counterintelligence to the Army. There are such wishes in the Army, but we consider that when the situation normalizes, and when the situation in the Army will be fine, and the situation in counterintelligence will be alright, then they will function normally. Now, it would be a little premature, although it could be done.

The same needs to be done for the counterintelligence that the KGB has always carried out in the militia bodies, the so-called line V—that also needs to be done. But for the moment it is very premature, and although voices can be heard saying that the intelligence service could exist as an independent state body—people can discuss this subject, but for the present, I consider that no steps will be taken on this, at least on the part of the new chairman of the Committee for State Security. We have time to think calmly and seriously about this subject.

What must we concentrate on? We must concentrate on four main areas. The first is intelligence, the second is counterintelligence, the third is our participation—here I am a little bit, if anyone's been following what I've said previously and the development, shall we say, of my views on the building of an all-union system of criminal justice may reproach me for changing my views. Well, I'd better admit that rather than, say, deem it necessary to absolve the KGB from combating the most dangerous forms of state crime, such as terrorism, drugs, corruption of the higher echelons... [remark from audience] yes, and state crimes, indeed, you've prompted me correctly and I'm very grateful to you, but in addition there are financial crimes, currency operations, in other words, that which concerns especially external, inter-union, and foreign, so to speak, criminal groups. And then there is also—this is the next, fourth area—which is to ensure the vital functioning of the most crucial state facilities, such as, shall we say, the center for the administration of strategic offensive or defensive potential associated with Day X, which I hope won't ever happen. Analytical activity—this is the last area.

Those are all the areas, but in addition one should probably mention the need to change the style of work of the committee. Its style of work must be, as I've already said, must be, well, first of all we must not stand above the republics but work for the republics, work together with them, in ensuring, so to speak, the overall interests of the state and the security of the republics which will form a new union. The second thing is probably the openness I've already spoken of—the democratic way of doing things, and matters of information which, let me say, require very serious attention because there is this constant and at the same time very abundant standard of information which I should say is on a pretty low level—there's the work that has been done by the Committee for State Security in informing the higher leadership, the higher political leadership of the country, which has in many respects been distorting that political leadership's picture of the true, of the true situation and the true mood in society. It was done quite skillfully, it was done, as it were, unobtrusively and with bias and with a semblance of some sort of objectivity, and this flood of information simply was used to overwhelm the leadership and to some extent, I think, got in the way actually of making the right decisions.

Operational issues. I must say that as regards operational efficiency, even in the first few days during which I have been able to become a little, to be frank, familiar with the apparatus, it is desirable that operational efficiency should be much better, much greater. And legislative consolidation is an issue which is simply of acute importance today, the issue of legislative consolidation of operational investigative work. I think that I am prepared if any of you now stand up and advises me and can find some kind of third way of carrying out operational investigative work apart from the two methods known throughout the world, that is the penetration of the criminal milieu with equipment and agents.... There is no other way: equipment and agents. If there is a third way then tell me, I will try to take this into my arsenal. But these questions must undoubtably be legalized; we must leave behind those principles of total shadowing long fostered by our system, especialy political investigations. This must all remain in the past as memories. This can only be a matter of professional activities within the framework of the law. And unfortunately we do not have this law today. This is one of the immediate tasks of the new USSR KGB chairman and those cadres who will work with me. There you have a, I think, sufficiently brief statement.

Answers Questions

LD3108102891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1200 GMT 30 Aug 91

[News conference by KGB Chairman Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin at the USSR Foreign Ministry in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Bakatin] Now, I am ready to answer your questions, but since I am sitting and not standing, give me a moment to loosen up. Everything's working here, yes? Okay. Please; right; just a minute, please. I know Norwegian Television very well, so I'll begin with them, please.

[Unidentified correspondent] Vadim Viktorovich, I will start with your intentions, and a general question arises from a specific example. In Norway, we were not very pleased when KGB operatives recruited a state secretary in our Foreign Ministry system, and he, himself, was not at all pleased when he was given 20 years six years ago. He was recruited by Gennadiy Titov, who is a KGB collegium member today. Will this KGB practice be halted, whereby the KGB recruits foreigners and uses them against their own homeland?

[Bakatin] At this time, it is inappropriate for me to describe the level of moral, ethical, and patriotic stability of your personnel. I would recommend that they should not allow themselves to be caught on the hooks that Soviet intelligence dangles, for then these problems would not arise. Therefore, I am not in a position now to say anything specific about the activity of our intelligence service, but I say once again that this is more a question for Norway than for us.

[Unidentified correspondent] Egypt's ROSE AL-YUSUF magazine: At the Supreme Soviet sessions...

[Bakatin, interrupting] I did not understand that. Please stand up.

[Grossman, VOPROSY ISTORII correspondent] Vadim Viktorovich, two small questions...

[Bakatin, interrupting] One question.

[Grossman] Please tell us how relations will be arranged between the State Security Committee and the corresponding structures in the Union republics. You spoke about this in part, but...

[Bakatin, interrupting] Please sit down. I told you that, in the first place, this...[changes thought] I told you that we will be working together with the republics and not over the republics, not over but with them. That is the first thing. Second, all the same, we must preserve a single system, at least as far as concerns external intelligence services, and no one has any doubts about this. However, I would like to stipulate in advance, as I have already had occasion to say more than once, that all of this will proceed from the new document which the republican leaders will sign. I cannot predetermine anything. When I was recommended to this work by the leaders of the nine republics, who are known to you in this nine-plus-one process, each of them said...[changes thought] Before I accepted, I asked them whether they agreed that there should be some all-union state body for problems of state security, and each of them said yes; they agreed. Therefore, I think that, in some form, once again I say not in the form of domination, so to say, and

pressure from the central body, but in the form of serving the republican state security committees, this body will exist, I believe.

Please, the comrade raised his hand in front of you. Yes, please.

[Unidentified correspondent] Egypt's ROSE AL-YUSUF magazine: At the session of the country's Supreme Soviet, several deputies tried to link Gorbachev with preparations for the coup. Have any materials been found which confirm or refute this serious accusation against Gorbachev? Is the country now threatened with repression and arbitrariness against innocent people? Thank you.

[Bakatin] Yes, we must certainly see that the innocent do not suffer and that legality is observed, because there already is a certain separatist process of forming unconstitutional, illegal commissions which are beginning to carry out separate investigations. There are instances of unsanctioned detentions. There are incidents of the violation of deputies' sovereignty, or rather, deputies' inviolability. I'm sorry. Therefore, this process-...[changes thought] At least, I have just spoken with the Russian leadership, and I know their position and concern that this must be stopped in time. That's the second part of your question. As for these absurd accusations which are expressed from time to time that this was almost a plot between the putschists and Gorbachev, I simply do not answer absurd questions. Why? I do not think that the people who went in for this adventure were, to a certain degree, able to evaluate adequately the real situation, but I do not think that they were such idiots—excuse me for this coarse word—that they decided to act out such a show for a joke, that they thought that for three days they could play around with tanks and rifles, repress people, and then, as if nothing happened, return, as someone put it, their friend's podium to its place and not bear any of the consequences which incidentally threaten the firing squad. I do not think...[changes thought] Justice will occupy itself as it should, but, nevertheless, these are absurd inventions which I would not advise you to talk about at this news conference, please.

[Unidentified correspondent, in English fading to Russian translation] Mr. Bakatin, Thames Television, from London: You described the KGB as a potential danger to the state. How can an organization that is supposed to be the guardian of the state become dangerous and disloyal to the state? How can that happen?

[Bakatin] Repeat the question; I haven't understood. I described the KGB as a potential danger; how can an organization which poses a potential danger become the guardian of the state? I don't understand the question. Either the translation's no good, or the question-'s...[changes thought] Repeat it.

[Unidentified speaker] Without the microphone; without the microphone.

[Unidentified correspondent] Pardon me. The question is: Could you possibly explain how it is, in your opinion, that this organization, which is supposed to be the guardian of the state, is now being suspected of disloyalty to the state? How could that happen?

[Bakatin] It's not a matter of suspicion, but rather that the leadership of that organization—this is not suspicion at all, but fact, reality—the leadership of the Committee for State Security is among those who—in league with other state officials, including the prime minister, the defense minister, and the internal affairs minister—organized the coup. How could it happen? Evidently, it was able to happen because our country's state security system is very imperfect. It was adapted to a party state system, a single monopoly of party and state bodies which were, in many ways, a cover for implementing the Party's will, the will of the Politburo. Meanwhile, the Committee for State Security really turned into a tool that was controlled by no one and nothing and could—by virtue of possessing that monopoly I just spoke of—with both communications and secret police and troops and all the rest, which could easily carry out the coup all with its own hands. We're in the process now of creating a system that will not be a danger to the state and, above all, as I've already said, that includes departyization.

[Unidentified correspondent] DIE ZEIT: Hello. As I understood it, you urgently need at least two laws: a law on human rights and a law on the KGB. Until you have those laws [words indistinct] of (?the) individual and of your political line, what and how can those laws be prepared?

[Bakatin] I'm surprised. It would seem that I have rather confused you, that I've been putting it badly. There is no need for any human rights law. Human rights are guaranteed primarily by the constitution, and if you read it you will probably find it difficult to find anything with which to disagree, though it is another matter that there are many acts which are legal according to the law which today inhibit those human rights from being fully exercised and which have to be gradually opened. I hardly need to mention the rights of entry and exit, the matter of registration, and so on, all of these things which go on in our country. What is missing is a law on operational investigative activity; that's what we haven't got. In effect, all such activity today falls outside the law. It is solely when...[changes thought] I worked at the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry once, and amendments to the criminal trial code, permitting such activity and providing a series of limitations on this matter, had a very difficult passage through our parliament, the Soviet parliament. However, not one of the republics has so far introduced these amendments into its own code; so, we are effectively working in a juridical vacuum today. Thus, there is a need for all-union or republican laws on operational investigative activity, as I mentioned. The law on the KGB requires emendation to consider the fact that its structure has already changed from what is represented in the law, and that is the minimum change

needed. Moreover, there is a whole series of other questions relating to this serious matter. So...[interrupted by unidentified voices] Just a moment, I was taking questions from women. Please go ahead; yes; wait your turn, please; I'm not going anywhere; if you haven't got the patience; please sit down, Yuriy, we'll come to an arrangement.

[Unidentified correspondent] YEDINSTVO, from the Georgian republic: Why has Vadim Bakatin, a man of integrity, honesty, and respectability, everyone's blue-eyed boy, agreed to head an organization which has tainted itself forever?

[Bakatin] I do not regard myself as everyone's blue-eyed boy, though I thank you. It's very nice to hear it from you, of course. You described me as a man of integrity and respectability, didn't you? This is what prevented me from turning down the job. I couldn't turn it down. It is a tough job, and someone sometimes must clear away those heaps of obstructions which we ourselves have managed to pile up over 70 years. Nobody is likely to come along and correct those mistakes for us, as it were, and those—what did you call them? Taints? Such stains must be cleaned. Next, please.

[(Venediktov), Ekho Moskvy radio correspondent] Vadim Viktorovich, you used to head the Internal Affairs Ministry. A reshuffling of the top leaders of all those organizations has been taking place. Would it not have been better for you to take the Internal Affairs Ministry, whose structure you know, rather than moving into an unknown organization? Thank you.

[Bakatin] Nobody proposed the Internal Affairs Ministry to me. I did not choose it. Let the woman have the microphone.

[Unidentified correspondent] INTERFAX. Vadim Viktorovich, you said that you intend to carry out—well, generally speaking—fundamental reforms, after which the KGB will cease to be a state within a state. Do you think that you will come up against opposition from the apparatus?

[Bakatin] I think so.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you intend to combat this?

[Bakatin] That's my business. Who? Where? Go ahead please!

[Olga Belan, SOBESEDNIK weekly correspondent] I have a very specific question. Over the past six months, I have written three times about a case connected with the KGB, namely the fate of the Gordievskiy family, if you know about that. There's not the slightest doubt about Gordievskiy's guilt. I would like to ask you: Do you consider it legal that for six years his family has been detained and has been unable to leave to join him and that this family has been under constant observation by those working for the KGB?

[Bakatin] I ask all of you not to ask me such specific questions, but in this case, I will reply because I have already managed, since taking the post of KGB chairman, to acquaint myself with this problem. The UK ambassador appealed to me on this issue only two days ago, and I wrote on his appeal the following resolution, which is easy to remember: I request that this be resolved positively. I received a formal reply to this yesterday, that supposedly this is impossible. After this, I said that the issue was resolved positively, and while I personally have the right to resolve such issues, then this will be resolved positively.

Oh! I am sorry. I have been doing it correctly. Yes, I am sorry. I wasn't even looking over there. Now, here you are. Yes?

[Unidentified correspondent] [words indistinct] you said yesterday that the concept of state security is the foundation of your work. Under these conditions, you are proceeding from the idea of inviolability of the state, but, as you analyze things, I would like to ask you how many concepts and versions of the state you have now and (?on whose side the KGB will be in each case).

[Bakatin] I do not understand; I do not understand the question. How many concepts? Yes, I do have. You seem to be very well informed. I have a folder here in which all the KGB reform concepts are filed. There are at least five or six versions there which I received from the employeers. Now, if this is what you are talking about, then, perhaps...

[Unidentified correspondent, interrupting] No, to specify...

[Bakatin, interrupting] But you are talking about the state as a whole, are you not?

[Unidentified correspondent] About the concepts of the state...

[Bakatin, interrupting] About the concepts of the state? You want to ask whether I am in favor of federation, confederation, commonwealth, and so on, right?

[Unidentified correspondent] Yes, bearing in mind that there are territorial problems between Russia and the Ukraine, for instance...

[Bakatin, interrupting] No, no...

[Unidentified correspondent, interrupting] If the Ukraine and Russia are two different states, on whose side will the KGB be in that case?

[Bakatin] I would like to say that, first, there will be no KGB in that case, no USSR KGB, if the Ukraine and Russia are different states. This is one thing. Second, there are no territorial problems between the Ukraine and Russia and cannot be; nor can there be any between other republics. This principle of inviolability of borders, it is an inviolable principle, and me, personally, no matter whether I work for the KGB or nowhere at all, I

cannot step over this principle because this would be fatal for our state, if you see what I mean. As to how to refer to that future union or a new union—which we are now coming to—from the old, totalitarian, and super-centralized one, this does not matter one bit to me. I have no wish to argue about words, and I never have. They say that there is nothing of the kind and has never been in human history. So what? This may just as well be the first case. The whole essence will be determined by the contents of the treaty which must be signed. I agree to the very minimum, which...[changes thought] The only thing is for an individual to feel himself a citizen of one single, of one Soviet Union so that he can easily travel from Moscow to Tbilisi and from Tbilisi to Riga. This is all. We do not need anything else. As to who is more important, this is not the most important issue.

[Unidentified correspondent, in English fading into Russian translation] Mr. Bakatin, may I return to the quesion of Mr. Gordiyevskiy, please?

[Bakatin] I did not hear. Who says what? Here; yes, please.

[Unidentified correspondent] You have been talking about a tense situation in the country. Would you please tell us, are the security bodies sure that there is no (?vendee) somewhere in the periphery which could stage a revanche in the near future?

[Bakatin] There is no what?

[Unidentified correspondent] Forces of resistence which could stage a revanche.

[Bakatin] What revenge seeking? Are you asking whether the people can be defeated? Or are you saying they can't be?

[Unidentified correspondent] I mean, continue the putsch that occurred.

[Bakatin] For all its tragic aspects, I think that the putsch demonstrated, once again, to the irresponsible, adventurist, dogmatic, and reactionary politicians the utter hopelessness of the attempt to halt the objective march of history. I have not believed in the past and do not believe now in the possibility of any such adventures. They will always be doomed to failure, and in our union it is impossible. As for whether some sort of vengeance or an outbreak of terrorism on some basis is possible—I won't specify which—yes, that can happen. Guidance on this has already been issued to the local bodies, who must be as careful as possible to ensure that there are no acts of vengeance or attempts to settle scores or seek revenge, as you put it. I don't think that what you're talking about is possible now, although what worries me most of all, personally, is the country's economic situation, that most of all. That is the cause of all the strains in this country, as it were.

[Unidentified correspondent, in English fading into Russian translation] Thank you. I would like to ask you about Gordievskiy. Who said it was impossible for his wife and children to join him? You now have the authority to revoke this decision. If they are to join their husband and father, then when?

[Bakatin] I already said that it was the practice that permission to go abroad or not was given by the relevant competent bodies, as we say, or by the bodies of the Committee for State Security. In this case, regarding the Gordievskiys, this was the way that it was. This ban has been removed. Now, I feel that, in the very near future...[changes thought] There will be some kind of formalities, and some time will be needed for seeing to these formalities; then, they will be able to leave.

No, no, no; that woman over there.

[Unidentified correspondent, in English fading into Russian translation] I represent Swiss television. Mr. Bakatin, what are your intentions regarding the KGB archives? Will they be opened for historical research, for example?

[Bakatin] As far as Russia is concerned, it has, of course, the lion's share of all the archives. Most of them are in Russia. Russian President Yeltsin issued a decree under which these archives must be handed over to the Russian archives. There is such an organization, a state organization. We have no reason not to carry out the Russian president's decree, but I have his agreement—and the document to which the Russian president has agreed shows this—that we will not approach this work in haste. We won't simply seal the archives and hand them over to somebody. All those archive materials which are valuable to historians, valuable to society, and which must be published—material about the crimes of the KGB, about the repression, the persecution of dissidents, and so on, those dismal pages of our history which are so well known—all that must definitely be handed over from the KGB archives to the general archives of Russia or the general archives of the state. Even the basic funds, the wages fund, and so on should be handed over, too.

However, there is a section of the archives concerning agents, the work of agents. I have already made a statement on this. I will repeat it now to confirm what I said, though this will be the last time I say it; I won't say it again: These archives will not be handed over to anybody. All attempts to confiscate or destroy them, as some people wish, will also be nipped in the bud. I appeal for support on this issue, because the transfer of these archives or their possible publication, even if only in part, could encourage reprisals or some other human tragedy, as you are aware. I have already given my arguments on this and explained why I have acted this way.

Go ahead please.

[Unidentified correspondent] [word indistinct] Czechoslovakia. Mr. Bakatin, you just said that the archives will be opened, except for those which concern agents. Will the archives which concern, for example, military counterintelligence, also be opened? This is what interests me.

A coup similar to the one which was just attempted here was carried out in Czechoslovakia 23 years ago. The people behind the present coup have been punished, or their punishment is starting. The plotters of 23 years ago in Czechoslovakia could not be punished up to now because there are no documents. Before the coup, the Czechoslovak side asked the Soviet side to hand over some documents, but this has still not happened. Maybe this will now change?

[Bakatin] You can ask the same thing about any other tragic events. I repeat once again that there won't be any exceptions made for Czechoslovakia here.

[Fedorov, "Mayak" correspondent] Vadim Viktorovich, I want to ask you this—I seem to have missed this point: How will your relations with the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry proceed? Will they be based on a principle of socialist competition to see who will report first? Or will it be geared to the end result? My second question: The lists which you...

[Bakatin, interrupting] No, just one question please.

[Fedorov] There are a lot of people at Gosteleradio, after all!

[Bakatin] Just one question.

[Fedorov] So, socialist competition? Or end product?

[Bakatin] There was no socialist competition and no end product. There was one and the same source of information, used by both. There were documents about how many tins of food were found under what counter, and both the Department for the Struggle Against Misappropriation of Socialist Property and Speculation and the...[changes thought] Excuse me, but the organization which I head today used them. Everyone does his own job autonomously. The Internal Affairs Ministry is a very large organization which functions republic-wide, if we're talking of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and Union-wide, if we're talking of the Union. In numerical strength and in terms of its tasks, it is at least 100 times [na dva poryadka] as big as the State Security Committee. We will deal with a very narrow group of particularly dangerous state crimes. We're not going to get involved with goods hoarded under counters. There'll be no competition, and each will have its end product. As for the officers of the operational reserve—I understand that you wanted to ask about this—let me say again that the heads of departments who don't want to cooperate with the KGB under the old principles should apply to the KGB, and these officers of the operational reserve can be sent and placed at our disposal, so to speak. If someone then applies to us to return them, we will have to think about whether to send them back or not.

Yes, on that side please.

[Unidentified correspondent, in French fading to Russian translation] QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS: Mr. Bakatin, you were talking about cooperation with the nine republics. How do you envisage cooperation with the republics that have already declared independence?

[Bakatin] All I can say is that the first few days during which I have been dealing with the problems of state security have perhaps involved the most active cooperation precisely with the republics that have declared independence. For a start, my first visitor was Ruutel; my second visitor was Gorbunovs; my first telephone conversation was with Landsbergis; I spoke to Gamsakhurdia today; Yesterday—I don't understand why there's such a reaction in the room—yesterday, I received the new minister from the Moldovan Committee for State Security. He is a very interesting and learned current affairs writer to whom it was a pleasure to speak. So, I don't have a selective approach to this. My view is that, from the point of view of the positions we already hold on security matters, our cooperation and work should extend to all republics. This applies to information. We supply all the republics at the moment. If they don't want this, that is their right.

We remain ready to cooperate with them honestly and openly. If we speak about the Baltic republics, there is a process under way there, quite a well-coordinated one, I would say, only a very complex one. It is connected with the fact that they demand that the activity of our state security committees be stopped on their territory. We signed the necessary protocols so that it is not done through some sort of violence—not by smashing windows or breaking doors, you know—but by a coordinated solution to the complex problems which exist today and which concern, not just some building or other, but which concern the future of the people. This is the most important thing.

No, I think it should be from the center of the hall. Yes, please.

[(Portnikov), MOLOD UKRAINY correspondent] Thank you. Vadim Viktorovich, I was not quite satisfied with your explanations on the presidential bodyguards, because, as far as I know, the people who have been guarding the president are state security officers and transferring them to the president himself must, I suppose, be accompanied by their dismissal from the ranks of those troops or by setting up an independent militarized structure of some kind. In this regard, one would also like to know about the guards which are guarding, say, the USSR Supreme Soviet or republican parliaments—because, in those cases, it is not the militia that is posted there, either—and to whom they will be transferred, to whom they will be subordinate? What is the future of the officers who are employed there? If they remain state security officers, this transfer will remain just on paper.

[Bakatin] Yes, thank you. I think that each president must think about his bodyguards himself, and I think that, if we speak about Russia, Russia has already implemented this and, as a matter of fact, proved this

during the coup. If we speak about the guard of, say, the Supreme Soviet, and, well, other state structures which are situated in the Kremlin, then, here, a totally independent service will be set up—the Kremlin service—which will both serve...[changes thought] I mean, the infrastructure will serve two presidents, as far as I understand it: the president of Russia and the president of the country. This is it. As far as the guard, as far as what they think in Kiev or, say, in Uzbekistan, in this respect, I am just not ready to answer. I am not ready. As for whether we need this to be performed by officers, then I think that we have officers there today, and it will be difficult to switch to some sort of contractual work there, although I think we will come to that. This will certainly be so. They do not have to be KGB officers, and they have, in fact, already been dismissed from the KGB. Those who have been transferred are not in the KGB any longer. They are not subordinate to the KGB.

OGONEK, please.

[(Vyacheslav Kostev), OGONEK and Russian Information Agency correspondent] Vadim Viktorovich, my question is addressed to you not in your capacity of KGB chief but that of a politician. Democrats are in a certain state of euphoria at the moment. However, many deputies and journalists already fear that the conservatives may attempt a revanche at the emergency congress. I speak, in fact, about the possibility of a constitutional coup. Do you sense any danger of this kind?

[Bakatin] If it is constitutional, then it is not a coup. As for this reform, our task today is difficult because, although progressive things are happening in our country, they are very badly coordinated with the constitution in force in our country today and with the constitutional bodies which should, basically, be in the vanguard, carrying out these reforms constitutionally. That is the paradox we constantly come up against. You wanted to say that you doubt whether the congress can rise to the right level of understanding, to an adequate understanding of the situation, of loyalty to democratic principles and other principles which world civilizations have already tested sufficiently, whether it can move in that direction. I think it has no alternative because there is no other road. I wish to believe that there will be no other road. I do not think that some kind of constitutional coup will take place there. This could end badly, of course. I don't wish to speak here for all of us. Some aspects of all our constitutional structures, including the congress, could be reviewed, but we shouldn't jump to conclusions. This will depend on the congress itself. All the same, I believe in the common sense of the USSR people's deputies.

[Unidentified correspondent] I represent CNN. The microphone is working, isn't it? Do you believe that there are still some people or agents in the KGB who support the junta? If there are, what percentage? If they exist, what would you like to do with them?

[Bakatin] There are some, of course. If I knew what the percentage was, there soon wouldn't be any of them left. [Bakatin, correspondents laugh]

Go ahead, please.

[Unidentified correspondent] Vadim Viktorovich, excuse me for asking a personal question: What was your family's reaction to your appointment?

[Bakatin] I already said that it is awkward for me to talk about that reaction. This is a personal question, as you know.

Who's next? Go ahead, please.

[Unidentified correspondent] I represent France's LE FIGARO newspaper. Excuse me, please, but you said that the KGB should not let itself be used as a tool for repression against its own people, that it should concern itself with intelligence and counterintelligence, and so on. However, we got the impression yesterday at a news conference by Gennadiy Titov—who I believe is head of counterintelligence—that he has a rather general understanding of the concept of intelligence. Isn't there a danger that many KGB officials will continue to have this broad view of intelligence and counterintelligence? I am thinking, for instance, of Gennadiy Titov's apparent support for the notion that it is absolutely normal to tap the telephones of foreigners and that type of activity. That is my question.

[Bakatin] I already said that this intelligence or counterintelligence activity today—in this case, of course, it is a question on our territory of counterintelligence activity or of combatting certain types of crime—has not been formulated properly in legislation. Therefore, you—and not only you, but any citizen of the Soviet Union—may feel that he is not protected from arbitrariness on the part of those bodies which, so to speak, should combat crime but combat it without overstepping the boundaries of the law and, without violating the constitutional rights for a citizen's personal right to be protected. Therefore, once again I simply iterate that such a law must be adopted in the very near future, and then everything will be clear. Until then, there will just be free interpretations. Everybody may be able to understand, in his own way, his role here and, depending upon how corrupt he is, he may violate or not violate human rights. Moreover, it is a question of human rights. I already mentioned facts here. I think we lack a proper mechanism to defend human rights. I think extraparliamentary commissions should be created—not just in Moscow, not just in the Union republics, but practically in every city and rayon center—to which any citizen can turn and which would defend his rights. We must do this. Until then, he simply goes from one level of authority to another, from one department to another, and he is sent around this circle.

[Varfolomeyev, Ekho Moskvy radio correspondent] Could you tell us please if you will continue to make use

in the future, too, of secret informants—or, to put it another way, informers—which every institution obviously has. Thank you.

[Bakatin] We will not make use of the services of secret informants, of the services of informers, and we will not use such expressions, on the whole. Once again, I say there is the concept of penetration by agents; moreover, it is desirable that the agency be a professional one and not an agency which hires agents. There is the concept of penetration, well, through devices, through certain devices, technical penetration.

All this must be established by law, and it must all be public, comprehensible, and clear. It must not be directed against the individual but must be directed against the criminal who is actually trampling human rights.

Yes? There are four of you at once! Have you got one question, or what?

[Unidentified correspondent] Various.

[Bakatin] Various?

[Unidentified correspondent] MEGAPOLIS EXPRESS weekly: Vadim Viktorovich, what I would like to hear from you is this: Recent events—the events of those three terrible days—have shown that the USSR State Security Committee takes upon itself the right to interfere; under those circumstances, it took upon itself the right to interfere in that holy of holies, national nuclear strategy. I refer to the business of seizing the man with the nuclear suitcase. How do you feel about this? Should the State Security Committee interfere in any way with national nuclear strategy? Thank you.

[Bakatin] You've asked me a very difficult question. This is a purely specific, professional issue to which I cannot give you a sufficiently exhaustive answer. I feel that the State Security Committee must play a part in securing those systems that pose an exceptional danger to society and to the state. It should not interfere but fulfill a part of its functions. However, in this case, the committee should not have a monopoly which makes it dependent solely on the committee. It does not have this, in fact. There's the general staff, and there are other structures. However, it must play a role and does, indeed, play a certain role. I think that must be preserved.

Yes, [words indistinct].

[Sergey Bogdanov, from the press service of the KGB's Moscow directorate] Vadim Viktorovich, the question of departyization: How do you see it? Abolishing party organizations within the KGB's walls? KGB officials' suspension of membership and resignation from any party? Will the State Security Committee produce any similar legislative intiative for sumbission to the Supreme Soviet so that this may be established by law? Taking advantage of the democratic atmosphere of a news conference, I would like to...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] One question from each person.

[Bogdanov] This is not a question; it is an invitation to you to visit the Moscow directorate, because you said in your interview that you had no opportunity as yet to get together with rank-and- file staff. Thank you.

[Bakatin] Yes, except for those who came to me on their own initiative, and quite a few of them have done so, by the way. As for visiting the units, I have not visited them yet. I simply do not have time. The staff are not there after midnight—in fact, they leave much earlier—and I finish work after midnight.

On the question of departyization or depolitization: Depolitization is the total banning of, say, a ban on a profession, depending on participation or nonparticipation, membership or nonmembership of one or another political party.

I consider this a violation of human rights. Departyization is a ban on the activities of any party oranizations in the form of any structure in any state body, not only the KGB. Behind the gates of a mine, for example, or the militia, or the State Security Committee, a person has the right to exercise his constitutional rights to participate in political organizations. I am in favor of this, but today this is not even a matter of departization but of halting the activities of the whole Russian Communist Party, the RCP. Such a decree exists. It is linked to the fact that we are in an abnormal situation, a post-putsch situation, and it is probably necessary simply to investigate calmly the degree of participation of the leadership of this Party in these negative events to begin along a normal path of departization. To my mind—as far as I was able to check the information which I have received—the committee, the KGB party committee, has halted its activities. On the decision to suspend membership of any party, I do not understand what suspension is at all. I either believe in this or I do not. If I suspend my belief in one party or another, this is a very forced, conditioned, strange thing. Absolutely.

[Unidentified correspondent, in English fading to Russian translation] THE GUARDIAN newspaper, England: To follow up the question about informers: In most of the East European countries, where there have been democratic reforms of the security police, special commissions have been set up with independent membership to look into the archives and discover the names of people who were informers, either voluntarily or on the basis of being paid fees in all government departments or Army units. Are you considering any kind of system in accordance with which independent representatives could have access to your archives, either Supreme Soviet members or someone else, so that those people could, in some dignified, suitable way, be removed from public life, so that they could no longer function as informers?

[Bakatin] This does not depend on the commissions that will check through the whole of our history and all the

card files of, as you say, the informers or agents. It can be done differently. It is simply necessary to change the style of the activity and the technology of the activity, the legislation, and everything else. That's the first thing.

Second, I don't know whether there will be much that is honorable here if we just give access today to these archives and provide the opportunity for both blackmail and revenge. If it is a matter of whether this informer or that member of staff or agent, whatever you like, committed some specific crime—a criminal offense, yes—then there is no question here: It is a specific person, and we may regard him as a criminal but not as a voluntary or involuntary member of the staff of some organization. When there are any specific questions, fine, go ahead. However, I consider general, total disclosure, total access through one scheme or another, to be impermissible. The legislators, the supreme soviets of the republics, really must work out what scheme to withdraw here. Some people are bursting to destroy everything. I've got dozens of telegrams here saying: Burn everything. I'm categorically opposed to that. Nothing must be burned. Everything must be preserved. If legislation is adopted saying that there is some expiry date and that after some period it can be published or access can be granted, then that must be done. Perhaps there should be some other system. Incidentally, that is what we are working on now with the Lithuanian and other state...[changes thought] I mean, Baltic...[changes thought] the leaders of the Baltic republics. It is a very complex system—or rather problem, not system—and a solution must be found.

After all, we, as the state that created such a system and involved its citizens in that game—which today, already from new positions and not from the ones we held previously, is considered dirty and unclean—must, nevertheless, take responsibility for these people. We cannot completely abandon them to the mercy of fate, to the crowd to tear to pieces, and so on and so forth.

I can give one name here, since it has already been given in the press. It has been given, and no secrets are being disclosed here: Prunskiene. You remember Prunskiene and the provocation that was staged involving a person I respect very much. No one here has said that anyone likes me, but I simply like Kazimiera Prunskiene as a courageous woman. You understand? However, there was a record there, in some card file, saying that she participated in that business when she was of pioneer age or some other—I do not remember—or of student age. So what now? We can perhaps find many such people. Are we now to look into every case and take it to a point...[changes thought] I do not think there is any need to stir up the subject. It is very sensitive, and these people are not the guilty ones. The system is guilty, of course.

Here, society must show a certain magnanimity. But this must not affect criminals. When there is a specific individual suspected of a specific crime, this is another matter, a completely different matter. In the end, this is a matter for the procurator and not the press.

[Unidentified correspondent] NEWSWEEK magazine: When will the tapping of foreign journalists' telephones end? A selfish question.

[Bakatin] What? Are your phones tapped? I understand: When will tapping end? Why don't you ask when the tapping of, say, businessmen will end? Or of Soviet cooperative members, for example? Or of someone else? I must say to you, completely openly now, that I could lie to you and say: No, there is no tapping going on today. I would be lying. Yes, tapping is going on today, but of whom? I, myself, personally, looked—you can make what you like of this—at the lists of by what right and what kind of people. It is either foreign currency black marketeers or those suspected of smuggling or of major theft. In every case criminal proceedings have been instituted—or have not been instituted in a given case, but at least there is a basis for suspicion. Not one politician, not one person who has not committed any crime according to our laws...[changes thought] These operations are conducted according to the legally binding act—I stress legally binding act—confirmed by the Council of Ministers in the 1970s—I cannot remember which year—or even in 1959. For this reason, to stop all this to the joy of these black marketeers and dealers who are comitting crimes today, I simply consider that this would be the most simple thing. It is just a matter of saying stop, and all of them will be glad. We have no other methods as yet, but a law—I repeat—must be adopted quickly, and I think that maybe my acknowledgment will allow this to be done. Here, from this point of view, I can tell you that it has now also become clear that during the putsch there were incidents when the phones of politicians were tapped. There is a parliamentary commission, and this parliamentary commission will investigate the degree of responsibility borne by the people who organized this, and they will bear responsibility for this. Today, this is categorically forbidden, and criminals, particularly dangerous criminals, who have caused—or there is reason to suspect that they have caused—very serious damage to the state, this is a somewhat different matter than a foreign correspondent.

[Unidentified correspondent] NOVOSTI Information Agency: Vadim Viktorovich, I ask you, the most well-informed person in our state...

[Bakatin, interrupting] That is not true. I cannot take on such a title. Nevertheless, I am listening to you.

[Unidentified correspondent] You are close to it. Over the last 10 days, the Russian leadership and the Soviet leadership have adopted quite a lot of laws and legally binding decisions. What is the country's degree of support, as a whole, for these documents? Are there differences in the country between regions? Thank you.

[Bakatin] I think that in this case, one cannot rely on KGB information to evaluate the degree of support for these documents. It is always a little distorted. Therefore, I have already told you that there is much work ahead to introduce order into the information which the

KGB receives. This information is always of a certain bias. Therefore, I think that the degree of support is better known by journalists. They are closer to life. They meet people. Therefore, I will not answer this question because I simply do not know. Moreover, it varies from region to region, and I do not know this.

[Unidentified correspondent] DIE ZEIT: Excuse me, Vadim Viktorovich. They are so dynamically fast, like you, I can say! My question is very simple: Can you imagine an exchange of opinions with West European countries on the search for a new professional framework, which is necessary now?

[Bakatin] On the search for what?

[Unidentified correspondent] For this new...[changes thought] You talked about the need to find a new professional framework for the KGB.

[Bakatin] Yes.

[Unidentified correspondent] Understand?

[Bakatin] I understand.

[Unidentified correspondent] Thank you.

[Bakatin] Yes, I can imagine such an exchange between my colleagues abroad. I can imagine it very easily because, having worked in the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry, I can—at least, the only thing—to some degree be proud that I opened up the internal ministry as a closed, to some degree, structure for such international links. I am absolutely open to cooperation, especially professional cooperation, cooperation between professionals. This must be done, certainly. I can imagine this very easily. There are no secrets here. My first meeting of this kind will take place today, incidentally.

[Unidentified correspondent] I am interested in the Baltic question because it was shown that the KGB played a part in the events in January. Does this mean that such things will not happen in the future? If, for example, Gorbachev does not sign the authorization for any of the Baltic republics to secede, will the KGB again see to it that the Baltic republics do not secede from the Soviet Union at all?

[Bakatin] I see. There are processes that are historically predetermined, and it is completely futile to obstruct them. The Baltic question is clearly a Baltic matter, and it is futile to obstruct implementation of the will of the Baltic peoples. However, I have a perfectly legitimate wish, not my personal one, but a wish that is dictated by concern for the fate of many, many, many people whose rights, incidentally, must also be protected, which we sometimes forget about. On the other hand, there are interests that—how shall I put it—have now taken shape historically so that, without definite treaty-bound relations with the Baltic republics, all-union interests—defense, let us say—cannot be maintained. So, some processes are again necessary. Therefore, I consider that the whole outline must be extremely simple: The act of independence, first of all, and a list of specific accords attached to the act of recognizing independence, and then there are no problems. We want to do the opposite: Independence first, and we will talk later. Why? I cannot understand. While it is much faster and does not spoil relations—and we have already spoiled them enough even so, although I do not regard myself as being among those people who have spoiled relations—it is necessary to talk about concrete issues and put them together right away from above on one and the same day and sign them all together. That is all. The KGB will not...[changes thought] I can simply...[changes thought] I was asked if there were any guarantees about whether it would or would not. No, it will no longer obstruct these processes.

[Unidentified correspondent] BERLINER KURIER: You said that the public principle of your work was legality. Does this also apply to all foreign states? Or, to ask specifically, what do you think of the illegal presence of the former leader of the GDR on the territory of the Soviet Union? How do you intend to respond to Germany's request that he be returned to German territory?

[Bakatin] In general, I do not think that there are any...[changes thought] I must ask you to forgive me. I think that, next time, I will...[changes thought] You know, one cannot, after five days, speak and be the greatest expert on the legal problems of intelligence activity. However, I do not think there are any legal norms that legitimize intelligence work. There probably are not—are there? Probably not. However, I do not think there is any country or any state that does not have an intelligence system. In general, if one is found, it is unique. So, there are probably just the ethics of the intelligence men, and they play by their own rules. I cannot say at the moment what is legal there and what is illegal.

As for the question of Erich Honecker: I just know about that question from the papers and cannot say anything about it. Yes, he is in the Soviet Union. As for what will be done with him, I think that is for the Soviet Government to tackle. I think...[changes thought] I am simply not prepared to say anything on that.

Interviewed by Russian TV

LD3008141991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1731 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Interview with KGB Chairman Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin by Sergey Dorenko in Bakatin's office in Moscow on the "Vesti" news program; date not given —recorded]

[Text] [Dorenko] Iron Feliks [Dzerzhinskiy] watched us for a long time through the eyes of an invisible army of agents, informants, and simply slanderers and amateurs. Feliks has left the Lubyanka, leaving the members of the CPSU's fighting wing in confusion. The victors now decide what goes on in the KGB. They have decided to entrust the reformation of the extraordinary commission

[former name of the KGB] to Vadim Bakatin, a politician, in the past minister of internal affairs.

Bakatin is a reform communist from the old, pre-Gorbachevian perestroyka guard. At the beginning of December last year, Gorbachev surrendered Bakatin to the right wing, which was on the offensive, and replaced him with prominent Soviet coupist Pugo as boss of the Internal Ministry. Today Bakatin is back at the helm. He now occupies the office of the head of the KGB.

Vadim Dmitrovich, previously the post of the chairman of the KGB was occupied by Beria and Yezhov. Somehow you do not fit in this chair. How were you appointed?

[Bakatin] Yes, those are such anologies that you have immediately dumbfounded me with this question—Beria and Yezhov. I would not like to be like them. As for the appointment, it was on the whole very unexpected for me. On the morning of that day, it was—I cannot even remember at the moment, I think it was Thursday, right, or Friday—there was the report from the officers of the "Alfa" group about how they refused to participate in storming the White House and who tried to make them and who resisted. In general, the personnel conducted themselves very well; I can simply confirm this now. For this reason I prepared for the president a number of documents connected with the replacement of the leadership there.

I was constantly being hurried. The president's office rang; the president asks you to come in, the president asks you to come in. I kept saying that I would go, and for about an hour I did not go. They rang about five times and I thought that it probably concerned this. I did not go because I was to meet with several of the leaders of this group and prepare an appropriate document. After I had held this meeting, after I had prepared the document on resubordinating this group out of the KGB directly to the president, I then went with this file so he could sign it, and I thought that it was about this. But completely unexpectedly I was told that I was expected in the Walnut Room. I went in and there were all the republican presidents—Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, Nazarbayev, Akayev, Karimov—and they told me to sit down.

The gathering said that we have decided to offer you the post of chairman of the KGB.

[Dorenko] Were you directed in any way, given any tasks?

[Bakatin] No, no one directed me. They simply said right away off. I proposed another candidate. I said that probably a civilian is necessary in this post. Moreover, I had already to some degree, so to speak, worked in the militia and was possibly known as the minister of internal affairs, and therefore a purely civilian person. Moreover, I further said to them: You know you are appointing me to a post which... [rephrases] you are appointing to the post of chairman of the KGB a man who has more than once spoken of the necessity of a serious reorganisation of the KGB.

I had in mind that with the KGB it is necessary to remove the intelligence and counterespionage services as the main sectors, and subordinate them to certain structures under the Supreme Soviet and the president—this is another issue—and merge the KGB with the militia.

[Dorenko] Did your plan more or less suit everyone?

[Bakatin] That's it; I said people will not understand, they will think that I want to destroy the KGB, so its better to send a different person here. They said, everything's okay. Yeltsin supported this and said that we can add a second point, and they added it. Gorbachev wrote by hand this second point on instructing Bakatin to produce proposals for reorganizing the KGB. All of them supported this. I asked if I would have the support of all the presidents, and they said yes. I asked Boris Nikolayevich, taking into account the situation which was forming around the KGB personnel, I asked about help. He said there will be help, there will be protection to put it frankly, he said there will be; we shook hands and I gave my agreement.

[Dorenko] Vadim Viktorivich, the role of the KGB in the unsuccessful right wing coup is evidently in its general outline known to all society. You have already begun to investigate this issue. What reorganization of personnel lies ahead?

[Bakatin] An investigation was begun before me. When I came a departmental commission had already been appointed which was headed by one of the deputy chairmen, Gennadiy Federovich Titov, who at that time was simply absent, so he is beyond suspicion. This departmental commission today, literally in a few... [changes thought] I think that probably literally when we finish this interview they will report to me. Apart from this yesterday, by presidential decree, a parliamentary commission was created which at noon today will hold its first sitting and will investigate. All the details will be elucidated there, no doubt.

In general, the participation of the leading personnel is known to us, and who had what attitude to this anti-constitutional plot or attempted coup. For this reason I, for example, consider that—I want to constantly repeat this—that here there is a very complicated task of not allowing responsibility to be passed on to the little man, but to restrict ourselves to the responsibility of the leaders, the first leader, deputy chairmen, and the heads of those main departments who were directly involved in this, who disconnected communications, for example, or who gave the orders to storm the White House, and so on. That's how it is.

We should stop at precisely this point and, for all that, give the apparatus the chance—to the operational part, first and foremost—to do their basic work and to also to think, at least, about the reorganization of the whole system. That is why the reshuffle of the cadres is

underway already. All the deputies of the chairman have handed in their resignations, including both the first deputies—Grushko who has been already arrested and Ageyev who has already been relieved from his post.

I have actually submitted a document to the president for their resignation. In addition, I have put forward the proposal for the resignation of Ponamorev, deputy chairman for personnel matters. The president has such a document and will probably sign it today or tomorrow; maybe it will be even signed today if it had not been done yesterday.

All the other deputies are continuing to carry out their responsibilities, but I will have a more substantial conversation with them. Several heads of main committees have already been released from their posts, notably the one who was in charge of the well-known special communications: his name is Beda. He has been relieved. I will not give the list of other names here.

[Dorenko] Will this not lead to a situation when, among the rank and file, the everyday rows will by brought onto a level when one will ask whether the person did or not take part in the coup, whether the person supported the SCSE, because once upon a time this person had stepped on someone's toes?

[Bakatin] That is what I fear more than anything else. That is already happening. There have already been some people laying information against each other, intrigues, investigations, telephone calls, there are even some memoranda. You see, this might go down as far as the smallest units, and inside these small units arguments will break out. Moreover, this applies not only to the State Security Committee. I think that today this may be typical for the whole of our society. What I fear most of all is that we will allow this to happen. This must be halted. Otherwise, as I have already said, we will have triumphed only to quarrel. However, having triumphed we should evidently—I say we have triumphed because I consider that it is democracy and the people have triumphed—and having triumphed we should unite and not split apart to the foundations again. Therefore, I am worried about that more than anything.

Yesterday I even risked making an appeal to the personnel on this. Unfortunately, judging from the information that I am now receiving, not everyone understood it because they again say: what is going on. It seems that there is a call to avoid a split here, and a call, as it were, once again for calm, for some sort of self-renewal, that is, just platitudes. So, tell us what the task is. They must be set tasks, told which way to go, who should be sought, and so on. All of these tasks will be set. Today it is simply necessary to create a normal atmosphere.

Defamation is still going on. Public opinion, by the way, and quite rightly in view of the whole of its past history which, let us say bluntly does not give rise to great pride, evidently, even among many of its operatives and in society as a whole... [incomplete sentence as heard]

Let's be frank: the Committee's prestige in society has dropped. It has never been high, and it has now dropped to its lowest point. So it is important for us not to lose our heads completely, and not get into a situation whereby a structure that all states need is liquidated. Despite everything, it does have quite good personnel. These staff will on the one hand suffer for no good reason, and on the other hand, if this were to happen, the state would end up defenseless, at least in the performance of functions which no one will carry out on the KGB's behalf. We could talk about them further.

[Dorenko] On the subject of functions, haven't we ended up with a situation in our country whereby too much power was concentrated in the hands of the KGB chairman? The KGB is a whole empire, after all. Do you intend to do anything about this?

[Bakatin] You're quite right. It's a sort of monopoly in which one man can determine the destiny of the state instead of protecting it. So in this case, decentralization is a very important element as far as state security is concerned. When the president's guards and government communications are in one and the same hands, it's very easy to switch off the communications and take over the presidential guard. For this reason, a whole series of steps has already been taken. In particular, the KGB's Spetsnaz troops, which they got comparatively recently, last year—the three divisions and one brigade—have already been transferred to the Soviet Army. We don't have any troops any more. That's the first point.

Those are not functions which belong to the KGB. It's not our business to have anything to do with troops. We don't need any troops at all. The KGB has no functions that require it to have these troops. The second thing is that the presidential guard and presidential guards in general should be taken out of state security. They should be autonomous and independent, and subordinate to both the president of the USSR and the president of Russia, and, as I understand it, the other presidents too. That's the second point.

Government communications, which take up a very large proportion of the KGB's budget—I think it must be almost a quarter of all spending: there's the encoding and decoding, and the communications themselves—this should be a state committee for special communications not subordinate to the KGB. All the employees, all of them en bloc, with their whole budget and all their technical facilities, are transferring to this state committeee. They will not be subordinate to me, and I, as chairman of the KGB, do not in fact have any claims on them. As for military counterintelligence, let it be in the Army. I'm not saying that we shouldn't have any operational positions in the Army from the point of view of intelligence. That's another matter. I'm talking about military counterintelligence which looks at, performs the functions vested in it. Let the minister of defense answer for it. It should be part of the Army.

It is the same with the Ministry of Internal Affairs' [MVD] counterespionage, the MVD's [word indistinct], and the border troops—why can they not be subordinate, as an absolutely independent structure, as an independent arm of the services to, shall we say the supreme commander in chief, the president perhaps, and not the chairman of the KGB.

Now as for the archives, for example, why not have a single state system of archives? Of course, here I must say that there is Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's decree which already predetermines the fate of the KGB's archives, and we shall certainly carry that out, but here we have archive departments in which the archives are related to, for example, the secret service.

[Dorenko] Well this is precisely what troubles many people; it troubles some people that they should not be exposed, while others demand they should be actively exposed. Furthermore, opinions are being expressed that the politicians simply will not let you do that, since then the file cards on informers, for instance, would be revealed and it seems that the reputations of many politicians and deputies would be tarnished. So this has an effect on whether the archives are revealed.

[Bakatin] That part of the archives relating to the crimes of the KGB against the law, against the people, against the constitution and which refer, shall we say, to the mass repressions, to the struggle with dissidents, and generally which are today simply of very great value to historians—these archives undoubtedly should be revealed and will be revealed, those anyway referring to Russia in accordance with the decree of the president of Russia, of the RSFSR, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. But there is a part of the archives which really concerns the secret service, as already mentioned. I have talked to President Boris Yeltsin, and he clearly understands this. Indeed, earlier there were millions of people; now this volume has been reduced drastically and I am confident that we shall go over to some other methods of work—we need simply to think a bit about how to conduct this work—but now, so to speak, are we to open them up, to give access to them to anyone who wants them in order to settle accounts again with absolutely innocent people? It is the system which is guilty.

But if there were organized, or if a society were created where a system of total surveillance were, so to speak, to some extent one of the principles of the existence of that society and of its security—because this is still, I say again, the struggle with people who think differently is ensured simply by such bodies as this, the KGB, which used to a certain extent informers for some problem or other. [sentence as heard] This did not, of course, only concern informers—maybe I am concentrating too much on this problem. But I am categorically opposed to these archives being opened—categorically opposed. I believe that in this instance we should not introduce yet another note into our society which has already been stirred up enough and which might lead to a great many, purely human, tragedies. And therefore, a state which created this system should clearly bear some responsibility before the individual, so that the individual can be involved in this matter. Perhaps, not quite from the point of view of human morals—morals are, perhaps, not quite what they should be today—so these archives will not be opened up. I say this absolutely precisely—again I am supported by the opinion of the president, and these archives will not be opened, and anyone who tries to do so is simply wasting his time and is clearly acting with malicious intent.

[Dorenko] In Germany—eastern Germany—the archives were raided by precisely those people who wanted to be the first to flee and to destroy their own files.

[Bakatin] Well, I did say: with malicious intent. This is true, this is happening in our country, too. Therefore, let us be calm about it and no one will raid the archives—we will not open them. At the end of the day there are various schemes as to how to do this. We are carrying out this work today—I have been doing a lot today and—this was two days ago—I chatted with Landsbergis on this question. And even at that meeting I found an understanding that it was necessary in general...[changes thought] of course, there is the question of the handing over of archives from the Lithuanian Republic. But we should again be looking at what kind of archives they are. Some archives can be handed over and others cannot.

[Dorenko] Vladimir Viktorovich, wont there still be some kind of reductions in personnel, and wont employees of the KGB still get away not empty-handed from the organization? After all, if reductions do begin they will feel aggrieved—they cannot rally round together in the KGB. In other words, to put it simply, if all red-haired people are declared enemies of the people then tomorrow there will be an organization of red-haired people which will set itself up against the people. If you force the KGB up against a wall, reducing a certain section of the apparatus, they will get away stuffing their pockets with information, especially, about their agents, and such an organization could operate underground, even blackmailing, say, their agents and informers.

[Bakatin] Well, I had not worked out such a scenario, although it is possible to some extent. Some employees, with a certain level of conscience and morals, could take such steps as you are speaking about, but—of course, it cannot be ruled out - but I do not think that there should be such a total reduction in our staff. If you look at it like that, then the main ratio in strength—I will not speak about this at the moment because I need to look into it in more detail. But the main thing is the troops, first and foremost—the border troops, and communications, and the operational staff as such—yes, intelligence and counterintelligence—which is absolutely vital. They will exist in any circumstance, and there will be no question of a reduction in these structures.

[Dorenko] And the former fifth directorate?

[Bakatin] The former Fifth Directorate is, so to speak, for the defense of the constitution. But you realize that there are now so many of these directorates here of all kinds: the Fourth deals with transportation and the Sixth Directorate is for the defense of the Constitution and the fight against organized crime. All that really will be reorganized. There are three directions, I say—intelligence, counterintelligence, and the third is the fight against the more dangerous kinds of crimes—[more dangerous] for the state. They are matters connected with corruption, matters connected with terrorism, matters connected with large-scale crimes in the financial sphere which we handle, matters of treason—if you like, you see today we have real crimes of treason—and interethnic strife.

This system of ours must also function. To some extent, it will be in parallel with the MVD system, but that parallelism is precisely one of the conditions for security. A monopoly is bad. When there are two parallel structures, security is then, so to speak, already enhanced. So we have these three main directions, and, in the internal reorganization, we shall have to see whether there are many departments justifying many posts for generals. It is a matter for us, and I think we will handle it easily. But we need to guarantee these directions.

You see, a second question arises here too, and incidentally, it is a very important one, one about which it is useless for us to say anything at the moment if we do not resolve all the problems of the Union, because nevetheless the plotters succeeded in implementing one of their two main aims—they wrecked the signing of the Union treaty. That is the first thing, and they speeded up...

[Dorenko interrupts] And they placed in doubt the central authorities as a whole and their efficacy, so to speak, for many people at least.

[Bakatin] This is not exactly the case. I consider that they had two aims. Of course here we could expand the range of these aims—to wreck the signing of the Union treaty, that is the first thing, and to strengthen central authority. That is what they wanted. Nothing came of the second aim, and perhaps that is just as well, because to strengthen the central authority which constantly slows down, and hinders the development of the democratic process everywhere, including in the economy—that is not good. Great prospects and possibilities have opened up here. There is nothing terrible in this. It is a different matter whether we have replaced one sort of centralization for a different sort of centralization, and what is now worrying the republics a lot is the role of Russia. This is natural as the plotters spearheaded their efforts against Russia. Therefore, Russia bore the brunt of the burden, and quickly took measures to deal with the post-putsch situation, so to speak. Therefore, there is some sort of transition here.

But all of this can be leveled out, given such structures of central power which will no longer be above the republics but will be created by the republics and will serve them, so to speak; all of this will sort itself out. But I am iterating that all of this makes no sense if there is no Union as such. And it is absolutely unimportant what shape it will take. There is talk now about confederation, federation, community, or something else—this is not important. We should speak about a Union in general, whose essence lies in those agreements. And this should be dealt with, perhaps. And the role of the State Security Committee, or maybe it will have some other name—I would not like to make haste in this matter—will depend precisely on that. And the share of responsibility for state security, however, will rest upon the republican committees.

[Dorenko] To what extent will the republican committees be independent?

[Bakatin] They will be independent to the extent determined by the governments and Supreme Soviets of their republics...

[Dorenko interrupts] But there must be some reasonable limits.

[Bakatin] Yes, reasonable limits... Their republics, and to the extent they, after assembling into a single union, will determine the functions of the center which will serve their combined interests. [sentence as heard] I do not think that foreign intelligence should be a function of each individual republic. This, perhaps, would be very incongruous for each republic to deal with, say, the issues of foreign intelligence independently. And this shows the logic or the tragic nature or the essence of this transitional period. From the period of party and state system when everything was held together by one party which was a substitute for everything, including the state, we have to go over to a normal law- based state where political parties remain but their functions, so to speak, can no longer extend to state structures. No party should have control over state institutions, be it the KGB, the army or, say, a state enterprise. And this transition is underway now. It is so painful that it leads to such idiotic, forgive me, attempts at coups, putsches, and so on.

Therefore, there are certain difficulties here, of course, and one cannot change everything in one go, but this should be changed. And the victory of democratic forces has speeded up these processes. You all know that decrees on the departyization of state bodies, including the KGB, were signed today both at the level of Russia and at that of the country's president.

[Dorenko] Incidentally, have people here in the apparatus supported this?

[Bakatin] Well, unfortunately, I am in such a situation that I have not met the apparatus on a broad scale. I cannot say, I have not held any meetings. It is only today that the first meeting with a certain circle of leaders has been scheduled for 1200. Then I need to simply go around. But I simply have not had time for that and could not do that. The information that is reaching me

says yes, they have supported this, supported it in principle. But I think this is everyone's private matter. Here again, apart from a normal plan for departization which should take place—I think that all this talk about departization has already set everybody's teeth on edge. Now we have found ourselves—or rather the party and society, too, because it was difficult to imagine our society without the party—have found ourselves in a situation when the party is implicated...maybe not the party but the party leadership is implicated in this coup. And today there is a decision on suspending the activity of the Russian Communist Party.

Therefore, it is not so much a question of departization but of suspension. Therefore all of this is much more complicated. But it is unequivocal that the State Security Committee will undergo full departization. I called in the former secretary of the party committee. He needs some time because it is impossible otherwise since there is a huge number of files. He has to give back registration cards to communists and each should decide for himself what he is going to do, whether he will remain in the party when the Communist Party activity resumes, whether he will remain in the party or will quit it or join another one, register at his place of residence or somewhere. This again is a process, you see, one cannot cut it off in one stroke because there are living people here. So some people will take this as a personal drama, others will put up resistance. Therefore I cannot say that everybody is unequivocally in favor, the way in the past everybody seemed to be for the party and now everybody is against the party.

[Dorenko] But what is the general mood? Are people grumbling?

[Bakatin] Nobody is grumbling. The former secretary of the party committee has told me that everybody voted unanimously for a wording which, it is true, seems strange to me: to suspend their activity in the party. I do not understand this. If I...if he remains a convinced party member he should remain one but should work outside the State Security Committee, whereas suspension is something incomprehensible. I cannot suspend my belief in God for some time and later start believing again or something of that kind.

[Dorenko] My last question...purely out of curiosity. You occupy a whole block of buildings in the center of Moscow, and there are rumors that underground tunnels here link the KGB with the Kremlin and with the CPSU Central Committee on Staraya Ploshchad. It is said that each of these buildings has more floors below ground than above it. What is there here, what is on these floors, and what is in these underground areas? Have you still not been around your domain?

[Bakatin] No, I have still not even been right around my office and I don't even know—there are several doors there which I have still not opened. I have not had time for this yet. That is the first thing.

Secondly, of course, we will probably have to sort out all of these squares which we take up in the middle of Moscow, and alongside the Moscow mayor's office too. Depending on what our function will be, I don't know, but we will do all of this calmly without breaking windows with stones I think.

I am very grateful to the Muscovites that they have reacted to my appeal, and now, no one is daubing the doors of the KGB with paint. If we wait a little while, then we will sort everything out together, and everything will be fine. If some building has to be handed over, then we will hand it over if...

[Dorenko interrupts] If they build vegetable storage depots in the torture chambers.

[Bakatin] I don't know whether it will be vegetable storage depots, or a museum or whatever, or whether indeed there are torture chambers here. I, for example, can neither confirm nor deny these rumours, because I have still not been around these buildings. As to whether there is some sort of underground tunnel from here to the Kremlin, then I do not know about that either. I can only say one thing: There are special directorates which are responsible for the maintenance of buildings which were specially set up for period X, so to speak, for a period of military danger, for a period of nuclear attack during which the activities not only of the former politburo—about which there would probably now be no talk—but also undoubtedly, of the government, would be guaranteed. That issue is of importance both now and in the future, and the direction of strategic forces—that goes without saying, therefore, all states have such facilities, and no one hides them. I remember that I saw how they tackle this in the United States—naturally, I saw this in a magazine, not actually in the United States. Therefore, we do have such facilities. It is quite another matter who will use them. They will be used by the people who will be running the state, and no one else apart from them.

[Dorenko] If we suddenly reach such a stage of openness that we will be able to show our viewers something of these sort of facilities, will you...

[Bakatin interrupts] I think that that time is not far off. I think that many of our secrets have long been known by those who were interested in those secrets, and it is only in our society where, incidentally, we have proclaimed glasnost, that there is still a lot that we do not know. Therefore, I do not rule out the possibility of this. Give me a chance to sort things out a little too.

[Dorenko] Well, we hope that soon we will be able to show our viewers, and tell them more about the KGB than we have been able to do today. And we would like to wish you, Vadim Viktorovich, great success.

[Bakatin] Thank you.

KGB Investigation Committee News Conference

LD0209091191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Aug 91

[News conference chaired by Stepashin, chairman of the state commission for investigating the KGB's activities, with Ivanenko, chairman of the Russian KGB, and Titov, deputy chairman of the USSR KGB, in Moscow on 29 August—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] I would like to offer you a detailed report on the news conference which took place in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic[RSFSR] House of Soviets tonight. The news conference was given by the members of the State Commission for Investigating the Activities of the USSR KGB, which was formed yesterday in accordance with the decree issued by the country's president. People' deputies of the country Ryzhov, Stankevich, and Lubenchenko and people's deputies of Russia Kotenkov, Stepashin, Bezrukov, Ryabov and Kuznetsov became members of the commission, as well as Ivanenko, chairman of the KGB of Russia, and Titov, deputy chairman of the USSR KGB. Stepashin, chairman of the state commission, opened the press conference. He spoke about the tasks of the newly-formed state commission:

[Stepashin] First, determining the place and the role of the KGB, as one of the structures of the political system of our society and of its state authorities, in the issues connected with the preparation of the coup d'etat, and its implementation. And, unlike the investigation led by RSFSR Procurator General Valentin Georgiyevich Stepankov, we see as our main task not the search for specific guilty persons, although this is not excluded from our commission's agenda, but determining the place and the role of the USSR KGB as a whole, as a structure, in the preparation for this coup and in the preceding period.

The second task which we have set for ourselves is the preparation of proposals which will be formulated in the course of the commission's work and as a result of its work, on reforming this structure, I mean, the KGB. Not only as far as the personnel are concerned and not only as far as certain subunits are concerned, but as a functional whole, so to speak, that is, its aims and purposes. Because, you know, that at the USSR people's deputies' congress [as heard] and specifically in the speech made by Alekseyev, head of the constitutional supervision commission, the idea was expressed that this system could be, actually, abolished altogether, leaving the intelligence, and giving all the rest to enterprises, so to speak.

Therefore, we find it necessary that, after a profound and careful investigation, a conclusion should be reached on what structure and what functions and purposes this system of national, or, say, state security, should pursue. And the following task follows from this, which we set for ourselves and which is already being implemented today: this is, the preparation of a concept and, later, a law on security, on national security of the USSR and the RSFSR, on the basis of which we think it is necessary to have the following legal acts adopted: it may be either regulations or laws, which would define the activities of our special services. Because the law on the bodies of the USSR KGB which, to prolonged applause, after Kryuchkov's speech, was adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, as you know only too well, and as the reality has, unfortunately, proved, not only does not answer the requirements of protecting the rights of the constitution and the citizens, but, moreover, this law did, in fact, facilitate the implementation of the coup. Therefore, this is the task we are setting ourselves.

And one more thing which we also consider the responsibility of our commission: the introduction of the necessary amendments into the Constitution of the Russian Federation and into the Constitution of the USSR, if that remains in existence—the amendments which are to define the activities of those bodies.

Ours is a state commission, and not a parliamentary one, although the majority of those present are deputies. This commission has set the tasks and aims for itself, to investigate the activities of the USSR KGB bodies, that is, everything that is within the Soviet Union, so far. But we know very well that, today, and particularly, on the day after the victory, shall we say, of our August revolution, the majority of the Union republics have declared thir independence and full state sovereignty. Therefore, we have agreed in principle, and will now hold talks with the Union republics, that everything which concerns the activities of the KGB bodies in the Union republics must be transferred to the jurisdiction of the respective government bodies. It is another matter, that we will establish joint actions in order to clarify the role and position of the central apparatus in controlling those bodies on the territories. These are the aims and tasks which our commission has set for itself, and this is, briefly, what I wanted to tell you about.

Now a statement from the commission—an official statement for the press—is to be read by Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov, deputy chairman of the commission. [Ryabov] Esteemed comrades, ladies and gentlemen. I would like to preface the statement with a few words. It is obvious to everyone now that the pendulum of democracy has swung toward anarchy and manifestations of mob-rule in society. This is a very dangerous thing, probably no less dangerous than the actions the coup plotters took. In yesterday's statement by a spokesman for the Russian Federation Procuracy it was pointed out that in individual localities a large number of ad hoc commissions and committees are being set up, and all kinds of investigations are being mounted—investigations in which in some cases the rights and freedoms of the individual are being flouted outright, which bear not a trace of legality, and in the course of which evidence is literally being destroyed as a result of being used in a nonprofessional way. That is one of the reasons which has prompted us to make this statement; while the more substantial and weighty reasons have already been mentioned by our chairman.

Allow me, therefore, to read to you the official statement from the State Commission for Investigation of the Activities of the State Security Bodies:

On 28 August 1991, the State Commission for Investigating the Activities of KGB Bodies was formed by decree of the USSR president. The commission includes USSR and RSFSR People's Deputies, and also representatives of the state security committees of the USSR and of the Russian Federation. According to the decree, the basic aim of the commission is to elucidate the role of state security bodies, both at the center and locally, in the anticonstitutional coup of 19-22 August 1991.

The commission feels obliged to emphasize that it does not replace the law enforcement bodies. The guilt of specific persons will be determined by the courts. The commission appeals to all citizens of the country, KGB staff, and also to persons connected with the activities of state security for various reasons, not to consider the formation of the commission as the start of repressions and persecution for belonging to the State Security Committee. At the same time, we express hope that these persons will not hinder our work, and will cooperate and give every assistance.

The main task of the commission is to draft proposals for the reorganization of the KGB's structures and for the creation of guarantees in law which exclude unconstitutional use of them. There is no doubt that the commission will obtain the most important evidence for its conclusions in Moscow, where the main center for running the country when it had fallen under control of the State Committee for the State of Emergency's [SCSE] leaders was concentrated. At the same time, the reaction of individual regional and special administrations of state security in the period 19-21 August [dates as heard] gives us the right to request help for the state commission from the leadership of republics, krays, and oblasts and of national-territorial formations. The relevant telegrams are already being sent out.

The members of the commission declare that the investigation of facts connected with the events of 19-21 August will be conducted in full accordance with existing legislation, with respect for the rights and freedoms of citizens. Thank you.

[Stepashin] We can probably now start to take questions.

[Unidentified correspondent] The LOS ANGELES TIMES. A question to whomever, but perhaps to Mr. Ivanenko. What signals do you have from the KGB itself about the attitude of its staff to this deep reform which awaits the organization, and what resistance do you expect from those still working in the KGB?

[Ivanenko] The situation in the KGB now is a complicated one. Many senior staff who were involved to some degree or other in supporting the decisions of the SCSE and putting them into effect feel very uncomfortable. Some of them have been trying to cover the traces of their part in it, and we have documentary evidence of many such attempts. The majority of rank-and-file staff, who found themselves hostage to Kryuchkov's criminal actions, are uneasy about their fate; many of them are demoralized by the flurry of impassioned judgements flying around, by the creation of numerous commissions and attempts by the latter to interfere in the activities of KGB bodies. Many are uneasy over the numerous proposals for reforms. And I would like to mention separately those proposals concerning reorganzation of the KGB. Such proposals form an input to our task.

There are very many such proposals reaching us now. (?We) should agree that until our commission completes its work there should be no haste to issue one decree or another, or to cut out one thing or another, other than in the most clear-cut cases—by which I mean the special troops and so on. Because there are two dangers here. The danger of weakening the state's security; and secondly that of creating a mere appearance of reorganization by these reforms.

[Unidentified speaker] The question of reorganizing the State Security Committee is bound up in the closest possible way with the fate of the USSR itself. Today these two matters cannot be torn apart. To transform the structure of the committee into some future form without a clear, obvious outline of the future Union—as a confederation, a federation, or an association, or whatever else—is something we simply cannot do today. These processes are intimately interlinked. And what is going on now—this has quite rightly been pointed out—is only what is most obviously essential.

[Second unidentified speaker] We should not forget, and here I am expressing my opinion as a deputy, that State Security Committee bodies, particular units of it, as recently as 1989 were used against prodemocracy forces, against the people. And I and my colleagues have factual evidence of action taken by KGB bodies against deputies, pro-democracy [People's] Deputies of the USSR, pro-democracy Deputies of Russia. And this was taking place until quite recently, right up to the last moment. Thus reorganization of KGB bodies means first and foremost to do away with the gendarmerie functions which the KGB exercised against its own people and against its own leaders.

[Unidentified correspondent] At the USSR Supreme Soviet, Bakatin spoke of several possible options for reorganizing the KGB. This applies—the first question is that of its title, perhaps—what options are there? Can you elucidate on this? That was the first question. The second concerns the archives...

[Unidentified speaker interrupts] This is very important.

[Correspondent continues] Is there any kind of shared opinion among the commission members as regards existing KGB archives? Bakatin stated, in particular: We shall never surrender the archives on agents. Better to destroy them! What is your position on this matter?

[Titov] Regarding your first question, on options for reform. Well, you understand that my position is this: First you propose something, and only then destroy something. I think that over the past few years you and I have seen that this is correct. Therefore, the commission is aware...[changes thought] There are a great number of proposals now which are interesting, which have cropped up before but were not put into practice. There are many such proposals. The principal task, of course, is to ensure that a fully fledged intelligence service exists, that it is sufficiently strong, as is the case in other, primarily Western, countries. Naturally though, counterintelligence, which I head, should also be retained since experience shows that not everything in the world is as it should be so that countries can reach agreement. In any case, I have recently had meetings with representatives of the German secret services, and quite recently with representatives of the U.S. secret services. We are looking for areas of cooperation, new forms of cooperation, but so far neither they nor we have proposed ending this work. And lastly, concerning the archives, this is how I see things: If we start publishing intelligence, then we will have to close the intelligence service. If we start publishing intelligence, if we subject people to such an ordeal, we will have to close down our counterintelligence service. But why should the Soviet Union do this? [Name indistinct correspondent] The French paper LE FIGARO. My first question to the State Security Committee, to Gennadiy Titov. About the Alpha group: we have seen a lot of articles about how this group really did refuse to attack the [Russian] White House. Can you confirm this? My second question, for example about the bugging of foreigners' telephones, and so on and so forth.

[Titov] As for the Alpha group we already have information; you already know all this. It has already been singled out really, and so to say, it has come under the direction of another structure. This group used to be a subunit of the Seventh Directorate of the State Security Committee. And the management is new. But of course as for the details, I would rather give them later, when the commission has reached some specific conclusions.

As for bugging, this is what I would say: Where it is necessary of course, it must [word indistinct due to laughter from the audience] I will tell you quite frankly, I have been declared persona non grata three times, in 1971 in Great Britain—I was sent there twice—in 1977 in Norway, and 1984 in Austria. You all know that. I was caught during an operation, and I was not caught by citizens standing at the bus stop, right? Not by simple citizens. I was caught by the special services, right at the meeting place. They were tapping me, and I took that as given. [Unidentified correspondent] THE STUDENT NEWS AGENCY. I have two questions. The first question is for Ivanenko. As is known, Bakatin has frozen all the KGB archives. Is your commission intending to unfreeze them, if only for its own work? And my second is for Titov: It is no secret that among students there are comrades (?called) freelance workers, or to put it simply, informers. What does the commission intend to do about this aspect of the KGB's Activity? Or is this activity of the KGB considered as normal in principle, as intelligence and counterintelligence work is in all countries? Thank you. [Ivanenko] With regard to the KGB's archives: an instruction was issued to open up the archives to work out a mechanism to implement the decree of the president of Russia on the archives of the USSR KGB. This mechanism has now been worked out: with Bakatin's and my signature and (Pekhoya), chairman of the State Committee for Archives, the relevant document is coming out. It determines the procedure for selecting documents, the use of documents—you understand, we can't freeze the archives for a long time, because we have inquiry work, and people are demanding references confirming their record, for example of their work or their time in camps—to get their pensions, and work on rehabilitation should not be halted. In other words, it was a sort of temporary measure. A commission has now been set up, the commission obtained access to the repository. That is to say, it is all under the procurator's control. Where deputies want to get information about the work of this commission, they will get the opportunity.

This is a question, above all, of legislative authority to set up legal guarantees which would protect each person, his rights and freedoms, which would protect society from nonconstitutional actions of the bodies of the Committee of State Security. And on this level, of course, the unleashing in society of fear and spy-mania, bugging, treachery, and so on is impermissible. It is precisely for this reason that we have said in our declaration that on a legislative level we also envisage the adoption of a law on cooperative actions, cooperative investigative actions, which would place the officers of the bodies of state security within a legal framework, and so that our citizens know to what extent these officers operate inside our society and what rights and guarantees they are provided with against unlawful actions. This is a totally just question. But this question cannot be resolved within the framework of the committee itself. This cannot be done by mere pious wishes or appeals, calls, to the officers of the Committee of State Security. This is a most fundamental issue. Indeed, our people's patience has reached the boiling point already, because we are dragging such a—I don't know—such a monster on our budget, on our backs, which suppresses literally everything in its society.

[Unidentified speaker] If I may, I will try to answer your question. In interaction with the staffers of the Committee of State Security we, people's deputies and members of the commission, hope to influence their point of view. And I also think that we have the opportunity with your aid to exert an influence on public opinion. For instance, in the law on the USSR Committee of State Security, the norm the Committee of State Security put forward and against which several people's deputies spoke, to the effect that a citizen of the USSR assists the bodies of the Committee of State Security. This is an anticonstitutional norm. You and I should remember—

and here the representative of the student information agency is absolutely right—that a complex oppresses us, a complex inculcated by the Party.

That is already a problem of the departyization and depoliticization of these bodies and of people's mental outlook as well. After all, Lenin said that every normal communist was a Chekist. The Pavlik Morozov complex made every young person believe it a great happiness and patriotic duty to serve and help the Chekists, because there were enemies all around. So I think when patriotism is put on a normal footing, the problem of informers will also disapper of course. But that is a very serious and long-term question. So we can not accuse a large proportion of our young people and students, or, for instance, men of the Soviet Army who fought in Afghanistan, for instance, or who served and regarded it as their patriotic duty. We must help them out of this spiritual malaise. And I think that our commission will have an opportunity to influence this process.

[Correspondent (Fadin)] KOMMERSANT weekly, (Fadin). I have two questions. The first is for General Titov. As far as I know, today's meeting of the USSR KGB Collegium did not take place. What, in general, is the future of the collegium as the collective ruling body? How many directorate chiefs, and who precisely, have been removed from office, if that is not sub judice. I think it is not, since there have already been some reports. What exactly are Grushko and the whole of the nomenklatura and top leadership of the KGB accused of? That is a question for you.

[Titov] Well, I would like to say this: It has been difficult for me to follow this process now. I am working in the commission and all day today, from morning until this news conference, I have been working in the commission. I have the impression that the overwhleming majority of members of the collegium have already been removed. Well, I have remained for the time being, I have remained but all the others have already been removed. As for the role and the influence, I would like to iterate the position of Comrade Stepashin, chairman of our commission, People's Deputy and chairman of the security committee of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, to the effect that, you see, [word indistinct] that our commission has an impression but now, if you permit, we would not like to touch on this issue because, as the saying goes, we would not like to upset a very complex process which is directed precisely at exposing the whole business.

[Correspondent] In that case my second question is for the RSFSR Procurator [as heard]. Could you tell us, please, who carried out the sealing of offices in the building on Lubyanka and the investigative measures within the committee?

[Unidentified speaker] Regarding the first question on Grushko I can give the answer: We have arrested Grushko and in the course of preferring charges he has also been indicted with complicity in betraying the homeland, on the same main count as the main members of that State Committee. A search of Kryuchkov's office was carried out by me together with investigators from the RSFSR Procuracy. By the time of the search the office had been sealed by KGB staff, by their seal. The archive documents that the investigation is interested in bear only on KGB activities during preparation for and the implementation of the plot. The Procuracy does not study other archive documents, and we do not have such a task. This is, in part, the task of the commission whose news conference you are attending.

Besides this, in respect of the necessary documents relating to the plot, as the head of the Russian KGB has already correctly stated, we are feeding illusions by thinking that they must be secured in the offices of the Lubyanka. They have been dispersed throughout the territories, and we are conducting similar work in the territories in parallel, although we realize that we did not go to the Lubyanka immediately it became possible.

[Unidentified correspondent] Could you tell us who else of the directorate chiefs or deputy chairmen of the KGB have been removed from their work, detained, or arrested?

[Unidentified speaker] I can tell you who has been detained and arrested. At present those arrested from this department are first and foremost Kryuchkov; his deputy, Grushko; Plekhanov, chief of the Ninth Directorate; and his deputy Generalov. Four people have been arrested.

Pankin Interviewed on Putsch, Foreign Ministry

LD3008201391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0330 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Boris Pankin, the Soviet Union's ambassador to Czechoslovakia, did not recognize the legality of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. He declared the coup organizers' actions illegal. Boris Dmitriyevich, how did you find out about what had happened at home, and what actions did you take?

[Pankin] I found out about it from foreign press reports. I came to the embassy, and then I heard about it on Soviet radio as well. The telephone rang, a call from the Cabinet of Ministers asking me to come and tell them what was going on. All those documents had been carried on TASS at that time. I went to see the deputy prime minister, who had called me in, gave him those documents and said that I knew no more about it and did not wish to comment. I must say that the Czechoslovak leadership understood me very well in this regard. Headlines appeared in the press along the lines of: No comment—the lack of comment is also a comment. For all

the subsequent hours we maintained lines of communication with the country's leadership, through which I kept them informed until a certain time about what was going on in our country.

I shall tell you frankly that for some time there was a hope that this coup would simply burst like a soap bubble, literally at any moment. Several people around me at that moment joined together, principally counsellor-envoy Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Lebedev and a number of other senior diplomats in whom I had complete trust. To put it in the language of journalism or the movies, even, we considered it our duty to show the downside. In other words, one way or another, we conveyed the negative reaction, that of rejection, in our reports, in some kind of expectation that even this would simply frighten the coup organizers, especially as on the first evening, you will recall, Yanayev claimed at the news conference that good reactions were coming in—that statement simply shook me.

By the evening, at the end of 20 August, when it was already clear that gunfire was going to come into play, it became obvious that this form of rejection of the coup, this form of mutual understanding between the Czechoslovak leadership and me, was no longer enough.

Then Aleksandr Aleksandrovich and I sat down and wrote those few well-known sentences and conveyed them to CTK.

[Correspondent] CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY.

[Pankin] That is right. I ought to mention that to be more certain that it would get through—I wasn't sure how my telephones were working—I telephoned a friend of mine, a former editor in chief of MLADA FRONTA in 1968, a man who suffered all those years, who is now editor in chief of another newspaper, PRAVO LIDU. I gave the text to him and asked him to send it to CTK. Literally half an hour later I received a call from CTK asking me to confirm that it was correct. I did all this at home, not in the embassy. I was asked whether it was actually true, whether I was definitely making that statement and whether I had really thought it all through, to put it crudely. I must tell you that I had to say so literally two or three times before I convinced that good man. It went out an hour later, and then the reaction came in, so to speak.

At 0700 on the 21 August—as you know, the situation then was still very tense and strained—I called our fairly large collective together and read out that text. Generally speaking, people were already familiar with it from the radio and television. Some had already congratulated me, so to speak, others said that I had taken a load off their minds. Then, to my profound delight, a total of around 20 people stated that they, in actual fact, would like to put their signatures to that document. I must tell you why I valued that so highly. We had decided everything for ourselves right at the start, but each of the comrades, by making that statement, crossed that line and, so to speak, stepped into a different world and into the sphere of the unknown. Fortunately, hours passed, and the situation became clearer. Soon we learned that the aircraft was flying to collect Mikhail Sergeyevich. Then we found out that even then the coup was still far from finished. That is roughly how it all happened.

[Correspondent] Please, tell us what instructions you received from the Foreign Ministry, as an ambassador.

[Pankin] The instructions were this most sacramental phrase: Be guided by these documents.

[Correspondent] The SCSE's?

[Pankin] Yes, they were put out, and we were instructed to be guided by those documents.

[Correspondent] Whose signature was on those documents, the instructions to you, as ambassador?

[Pankin] The first two documents came with Kvitsinskiy's signature, and then there were one or two documents with Bessmertnykh's, and then Kvitsinskiy's signature was on documents which came, instructing us to be guided by totally different documents and to act in the completely opposite direction.

[Correspondent] Boris Dmitriyevich, people credit you with respect for the position you took while being an ambassador, but surely, being in charge of the Foreign Ministry is much more than being in charge of an embassy. What is the main task now facing the Foreign Ministry, and how do you intend to tackle it?

[Pankin] It seems, the main task facing the Foreign Ministry is that it must fully implement the foreign and, I am not afraid of this word, internal policies of the country's current leadership—I have in mind the president of the Soviet Union, the President of Russia, and the nine plus one—the policy of extricating the country from all the crises in which it is most deeply immersed, and of helping the most serious wounds inflicted by the putsch to heal.

[Correspondent] Boris Dmitriyevich, if I were to ask you to describe in three words, in three concepts, the foreign policy to be conducted by the Foreign Ministry with you in charge, what would those three words, or three concepts, be?

[Pankin] We will aim at joining the world of civilized states.

Military

Presidential Decree Replaces Military Officials

LD3108185791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] We have received the text of the decree by the president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics appointing and relieving senior officers in the USSR Armed Forces. The president resolved:

1. To appoint Colonel General Vladimir Magomedovich Semenov commander in chief of ground forces and USSR deputy defense minister; Colonel General of Aviation Viktor Alekseyevich Prudnikov, commander in chief of Air Defense Forces and USSR deputy defense minister; and Colonel General of Aviation (Petr Stepanovich Deynekin), commander in chief of Air Forces and USSR deputy defense minister.
2. To relieve Army General Valentin Ivanovich Varennikov from the post of commander in chief of Ground Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, and Army General Ivan Moiseyevich Tretyak from the post of commander in chief of Air Defense Forces and USSR deputy defense minister.
3. To appoint Lieutenant General Yevgeniy Nikolayevich Podkolzin commander of Airborne Troops and to relieve Colonel General Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev from this post.

Shaposhnikov on Plans to Professionalize Army

LD0109093791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Air Force Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov has disclosed plans to move gradually to a professional army formed on a voluntary and contract basis. An army, he noted in an interview, must not be either the arena of Party, political confrontation, or means of satisfying one's ambitions. Marshal Shaposhnikov defined the three key principles of military service as serving the people, observing the constitution, and defending the home country. We intend, said the minister, to encourage the activity of the democratic institutions set up in the Army and Navy in recent years.

Defense Minister on Prestige of Army

PM0109143391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Marshal of Aviation Ye. I. Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense, by unidentified KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent; date and place of interview not given: "Revive the Prestige of the Army. Minister of Defense Marshal of Aviation Ye. I. Shaposhnikov Replies to Questions From a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Correspondent"]

[Text] [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] The readers of our newspaper are mostly military men. What would you, comrade Defense Minister, like to tell them right now, during these difficult days for the country and the Army?

[Shaposhnikov] The main thing now is to ensure an intensive but nonetheless calm and systematic rhythm in implementing the plans to improve combat and mobilization readiness and the troops' combat training programs. How can this be achieved? By the conscientious work of everyone at his post, by the irreproachable implementation of specific official duties, and by a considered and constructive approach to the solution of problems. As is known, there are quite a few of them, including very acute and painful ones. Many of them cannot be resolved overnight. And it is very important to ensure that they do not turn into permanent focuses of tension. In order to forestall this it is necessary for people to know how, in what way, and when the problems will be resolved. This applies to all aspects of military life—combat training and service, troop amenities, housing for servicemen and their families, and other social issues.

And so, I repeat, what is needed now is calm, responsible, concerted labor in all components and at all levels of the complex organism of the Armed Forces.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Two months of summer training have passed...

[Shaposhnikov] Correct. Unfortunately we are behind schedule as regards many points of the plans and programs. There are many reasons for this, both objective and subjective. Naturally, it is necessary to analyze them, draw conclusions, and bear them in mind for the future. And—to rectify the situation. Without undue clamor, without fuss, without unnecessary declarations and self-flagellation. I am convinced that it is specific work and high practical results which indicate not only professionalism and a businesslike attitude—which I value highly—but also true commitment to the reforms which are under way in the country, including in the military sphere.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What, in your opinion, is the key component today as regards the solution of the tasks facing the Armed Forces.

[Shaposhnikov] It is the officer corps. The officer is the key figure in the Army. His professionalism, devotion to duty, and ability to become the focus of attraction of the military collective, a generator of exactingness, goodwill, mutual consideration, responsibility, and of the spiritual closeness of people called upon to defend the fatherland—this, in my opinion, is the alpha and the omega of military service.

It is necessary to revive the concept of the honor of an officer, and give it a real, living content. There is only one benchmark for this—honor is dearer than life. This is precisely how officers in our fatherland have always posed this question. An officer is a man of duty and honor. And that says everything. For example, he will never issue an immoral, much less a criminal, order, and he will not implement such an order.

It seems to me that honor is a kind of integral result of the organic combination in a man of inner nobleness, decency, and virtue. I believe that this constitutes the main buttress of individual sovereignty without which all talk about democracy is no more than hot air.

Why am I saying this today, right now? Are there no more important or urgent specific practical tasks, you may ask. In my opinion the answer is: No! Naturally, there are more than enough tasks. But in this torrent it is

important not to lose sight of the main points of reference. And one such reference point is the honor of an officer. And it is particularly topical to remember this now, during the difficult days after the coup d'etat which has rocked our society and the Army.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Why?

[Shaposhnikov] Primarily because, according to my conviction, the events of those three days in August have led us all up to a kind of invisible divide which is of vital importance for the Army, for the people, and for the fatherland. We have arrived at a turning point, at the moment of truth for reviving the prestige of the military service and the Armed Forces, for restoring nationwide love and respect to them. I would like every servicemen, officer, general, and every Soviet citizen to sense this as keenly as I do.

The fact that the Army did not take action against its people, that it did not raise its arms against them, testifies better than any other argument that it has rid itself of all accretions during the years of perestroyka under the influence of the democratization processes. Its essence is its primordially popular character. It is true that we have always said that the army is part of the people. Unfortunately, the words turned into a hackneyed stereotype and were treated accordingly. The extreme situation of 19 to 21 August suddenly brought to light that these were no words; it was the reality!

It is necessary to consolidate the respect for the Armed Forces, servicemen, officers, generals, for the defenders of the fatherland, by means of actions, irreproachable service, elimination of shortcomings, and the enhancement of the new quality which they have acquired during the time of perestroyka.

In the light of all this I would like to emphasize: We must not lose our respect by allowing a so-called "witch-hunt" to take place in military collectives—a hunt for those who fulfilled orders during the days of the coup, and those who did not. I have already said this, and I will repeat it again. Such a practice is unacceptable in the army; it is impermissible. It is disgraceful in moral, purely human terms. Officers' honor, and military honor in general, do not tolerate informing, denunciation, and moral unscrupulousness. The USSR Ministry of Defense Collegium emphasizes this in particular in its appeal to Armed Forces servicemen. There is, however, not only a moral but also a purely military angle to this. From this angle strife, distrust, suspicion, and confrontational relations within military collectives are ruinous for the cause of combat readiness.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] It was presumably the unacceptability of confrontational relations in such a specific organ as the Army which also dictated the decision to abolish party structures within the Armed Forces.

[Shaposhnikov] Among other things. The spectrum of the reasons for this here is, quite naturally, considerably broader. The Army cannot and must not be either an arena of party political confrontation, or a means of the satisfaction of anyone's ambitions. Serving the people, implementing the Constitution, and defending the fatherland—these are the three pillars on which military service rests.

The recent events in the country have speeded the adoption of decisions which were long overdue. And they must be implemented calmly, ensuring a respectful attitude toward the persuasions of each individual, scrupulously, I would even say meticulously—in the positive sense of this word—taking account of every individual destiny and retaining efficient, conscientious, and well-trained officers for the Army. Incidentally, they constitute the majority among party and political officers in the Army and the Navy. There will be enough work for all of them.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] It would appear, Yevgeniy Ivanovich, that army and democracy are incompatible concepts.

[Shaposhnikov] Why so? In a democratic society, in a rule-of-law state, an army deprived of democratic institutions and the democratic spirit cannot function normally. We intend to step up the activity of democratic institutions which have been established in the Army and the Navy in recent years, and to create conditions for the fullest possible development of their potential. For example the officers' assembly, the standing certification commission, councils of ensigns, warrant officers, noncommissioned and petty officers, and meetings of the personnel, and all our public organizations in general, including women's councils, have a role to play in servicemen's lives. And a considerable role at that—we are interested in ensuring the weightiness of the words and the effectiveness of the decisions of the democratic institutions. The moral climate in the Army, and hence also its combat readiness, depend directly on this.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] You have issued an order for the creation in the Armed forces of components for combat training as well as military, moral, and psychological education. What is the essence of this reorganization?

[Shaposhnikov] Returning the training and educational process to its natural status. After all, until recently it was artificially divided into two spheres with essentially weak links between them—training and education. They have now been united. An integrated and internally consistent system combat training and military, moral, and psychological education components is being created, all of whose structural elements will be geared to molding professional, highly skilled servicemen. A professional, in my opinion, is not just a person who has merely mastered, even if to perfection, the latest hardware and methods of combat, which is very important, of course. But it is no less important for these skills to be

coupled with a firm will, courage, fearlessness, efficiency, staunchness, and moral, psychological, and physical stamina—in short, with everything that makes for a good soldier, a military man, in the traditional sense.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] It is to be assumed that the reorganization will also involve other management structures? How, in general, will the Army develop in the near future; how do you see it?

[Shaposhnikov] The transformation of the Army within the framework of the radical military reform will be continued. With only one difference, namely that this process will be resolutely deepened and accelerated. As for the general thrust of the transformations, it is covered by four main parameters. They are professionalization, quality, democratization, and sufficiency. I have already touched on some of these parameters, but I will explain what their content should be in my opinion.

On the first point. Gradual progress toward a professional army based on comprehensive calculations, taking into account the realities of the international military-political situation and the country's socioeconomic, scientific, technical potential. Or more precisely, a contract system manned primarily on a voluntary basis. Part of the specialties will be manned on the basis of military service reduced in the long term to a period of, say, 18 months. The introduction of an alternate service is not being ruled out, but it would unquestionably comprise legislatively secured rigorous criteria for the contigents to which it would apply.

On the second point. The quality of technical equipment, the organizational-establishment structure, and the management and provision of the Armed Forces. I believe that this parameter also covers all the questions connected with the infrastructure of the Army and Navy and the servicemen's sociocultural amenities.

The third point I have essentially already explained. I would only like to add that democratization presumes openness and glasnost in everything that concerns military service and the life and work of the Armed Forces and that does not constitute a state or military secret.

And finally, to the fourth point. Sufficiency, in my opinion, should materialize in the following approach: Not possessing and not creating anything superfluous, anything that is not needed for the country's defense. In other words, ensuring effective defense by means of minimal forces and means with the lowest possible expenditure.

In short, we must have unified Armed Forces distinguished by a high professionalism, modern technical equipment, a developed infrastructure, and a democratic organization of life; Armed Forces sufficient for the unconditionally reliable defense of the Union state.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] How do you see the mutual relations between republics and the center in questions of defense building?

[Shaposhnikov] These mutual relations must be built on the basis of a clear demarcation of spheres of competence. It is obvious that republic organs of power and their military structures must take part in the elaboration and implementation of military policy, the formation of the defense budget, the training of the reserves, the organization of the draft, and so forth. I believe that within the framework of ensuring real sovereignty the creation of smallish military formations on the lines of a national guard to be at the disposal of the republics would also be justified. However, it is also obvious that, with a view to ensuring an integral and reliable defense system for the whole state, unified Armed Forces are necessary, as I have said before. Naturally these questions must find their legal formulation and be enshrined in the new Union treaty. As for the republics' national guard, about which there is so much talk at the moment, it would clearly—should decisions to establish it be adopted—serve as a kind of reserve of the Armed Forces in the event of military actions.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] How, in your opinion, will relations with NATO develop, and what are the prospects for military cooperation in the international arena?

[Shaposhnikov] I hope that our relations with NATO—which have acquired a new quality of late—will continue to develop on the basis of trust, mutual understanding, and sensible compromises. Our bilateral relations and contacts in the military sphere in the international arena in general are being built on this basis. The prospects here are determined by the fact that we are open to cooperation.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] In conclusion, comrade defense minister, we would like to know, if it's not a secret, what was your first order as defense minister?

[Shaposhnikov] I have already signed a whole series, and it is a long one, of various orders. Probably the first one was on taking up the post. However, symbolically I would like my first order to regulate officers' working hours. After all, they are on duty daily from dawn to dusk. Do they have an opportunity to read, relax, and ultimately to experience the whole fullness and joy of life? However, for such an order not to become just the latest declaration it is necessary to ensure the real—economic, organizational, moral, psychological, and other—conditions and an effective mechanism for its implementation. And that involves manning levels, enhancement of the role of noncommisssioned officers, and in particular subunits' petty officers, raising the effectiveness of duty services, and providing enhanced

incentives for servicemen to implement their duties to the best of their ability... a tall order. I believe that an important role here should be played by the adoption of a package of legislative acts defining the place and role of the Armed Forces in society, and also their functions, regulating the discharge of military service, and so forth. It is necessary to do this as soon as possible. The same applies also to General Military Service Regulations.

All this must be done, and done without fail if we do not want to lose the cornerstone of the Armed Forces—the officer. An officer who is highly trained, intelligent, diligent, and selflessly devoted to the service.

In this context I simply have to mention one more thing. I believe that the Army must cast off surplus weight. Both in the direct and indirect sense of the word. As for the former, it is necessary to raise the standard of physical training, especially of staff officers. The external appearance of a military man must "speak for him"—he must be smart, self-disciplined, precise, and dynamic. As for the latter, I will put it this way: The Army, in order to recover its brilliance and dignity, needs to undergo a certain amount of honing. Otherwise the tarnish, mold, and here and there even rust will remain... To get rid of all this is in the interests of the Armed Forces and their prestige, and ultimately also in the interests of a reliable defense of the Motherland.

Bush Announces Recognition of Baltic Independence

OW0209170691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1527 GMT 2 Sep

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Today at 5 p.m. the U.S. President George Bush announced that the United States of America recognize the independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. According to the Estonian Supreme Council Chairman's press office, earlier today George Bush had a telephone conversation with Chairman of the Estonian parliament Arnold Ruutel. At a press conference in Riga, Chairman of the Latvian parliament Anatolijs Gorbunovs said he had also talked by the phone with Mr. Bush. In Mr. Gorbunov's words, Mr. Bush had explained him that before taking such a decision, Washington thoroughly examined the information it had received from Moscow. The U.S. President said that time has come to restore diplomatic relations with the Baltics and to recognize them de facto. At the end of the conversation, Mr. Bush said that U.S. Ambassadors to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania will be appointed in the near future.

British Prime Minister Meets Baltic Leaders

LD0109182191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1640 GMT 1 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep (TASS)—"A toast to the independence of the Baltic states" was proclaimed by John Major, prime minister of Great Britain, following a meeting today with the prime ministers of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. The British prime minister spoke these words before journalists at the end of the meeting which was held at the British Embassy.

There were no official statements or replies to questions.

Press Briefed

LD0109222191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] British Prime Minister John Major has promised to assist the three Baltic states in joining the United Nations. This was announced yesterday [1 September] at a joint news conference in Moscow of the prime ministers of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania upon the completion of their talks with the British prime minister.

Replying to a correspondent from the Russian Information Agency, Latvian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius stated that the concept of an association with the Soviet Union, an idea Mikhail Gorbachev expressed in his interview with CNN, is very abstruse. In his words, the Baltic states are discussing the possibility of setting up a formation resembling Benelux.

Speaking about recognition of the Baltic countries by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the prime ministers were unanimous in the view that the decision of the congress is very important. However, they believe that ultimately it is not the congress that determines the fate of their republics. The Baltic leaders believe that whatever the view of the congress or individual political figures may be, relations between the countries of the Baltic and the Soviet Union, if the latter is to exist, will be built on completely different principles than they have until now. In the view of Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis, the way of life in Scandinavia is closest of all to the Baltic countries. But the path toward such a society will be very difficult.

Ministry 'To Abstain' From Comment on Recognition

OW0209173991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshev from the "Diplomatic Panorama" program; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet Foreign Ministry gave to understand today (September 2) that it would prefer to abstain from comments or official statements in connection with the recognition of the Baltic republics by some of the Western states, including the US.

Whereas until very recently, the Soviet Foreign Ministry would instantly assail any event or diplomatic step pointing to the Baltic republics' independent status, now it has assumed a temporizing position. A high-ranking diplomat told DP that this issue figured in the agenda of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR which has opened today, and must be initially considered by the legislators.

Baltics' Moscow Envoys Discuss Soviet Relations

LD0109030591 Moscow TASS in English 0839 GMT 31 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent V. Troyanovskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 31 (TASS)— Russia's formal recognition of independence declared by the Baltic republics is like the go-ahead sign on a busy traffic road. Ever more countries are extending their official recognition to the republics of Lithuanian, Latvia and Estonia—from their Scandinavian neighbours to remote Australia. Diplomatic relations with foreign countries are being established and treaties of cooperation are being signed.

Naturally, many people wonder in what way the newly fully independent states intend to build their relations with Russia and other Soviet republics.

"No one is against cooperation," Latvia's permanent envoy to Moscow Janis Peters told TASS. "Provided trade and economic relations with Russia and other countries are equitable and mutually beneficial".

According to him, the Soviet Union will become in future an association of several republics, which, while cooperating, will delegate some powers to the centre.

However, the envoy noted, this does not apply to the Baltic republics. Independent Latvia will build inter-republican and inter-state relations only on the basis of equal rights.

Lithuania's envoy to Moscow Egidius Bikauskas made a similar statement. "Our relations with Russia will develop on the basis of mutual benefit," he said. "At the same time, we intend to maintain economic links with other republics within the Soviet Union and other countries".

As regards the fate of the Soviet Union, Bikauskas noted that "the Union will survive in one form or another, probably as a confederation".

The independent Lithuanian republic will not intervene in this process, he stressed, as this is an internal affair of republics and the fate of the Union will depend on them above all.

"Normal economic relations between partners, which have taken shape over many years, must continue," Estonia's permanent envoy to Moscow Yuriy Kahn said. "It is important both to Russian and Estonian not only to continue these relations but expand them, find ways to base them on mutual interest and not on compulsory distribution as before".

Shevardnadze Sure Congress Will Vote Positively

LD0209195191

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian at 1400 GMT on 2 September broadcasts a 5-minute report on an interview with former USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by Lithuanian News Agency ELTA correspondent Balys Bucelis in Moscow on 2 September.

During the interview Bucelis asked Shevardnadze about the possible results of the voting by the People's Deputies on the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. However, Bucelis does not play the recording of the interview, but instead relays the content over the telephone to the studio as follows:

Bucelis: "Why was the issue of the recognition of the independence of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia postponed on the agenda of the Congress until the afternoon or perhaps until tomorrow?

"Answer: Mikhail Gorbachev must consult the Congress Presidium.

"My question: What right do the members of the Presidium have to decide whether the Baltic states should be independent or not?

"Shevardnadze answered: You see, this is a procedural question. I feel that Gorbachev wants to prepare the members of the Presidium so that the question is included in the agenda. The Congress will decide to vote on it or not. Today it is difficult to predict the results of the voting .

"My question: In your opinion, what will the Congress decide?

"Answer: I think that it will be positive.

"My question: Do you think that the independence will be recognized?

"Shevardnadze answered: I think so.

"I asked him once again: Are you firmly convinced and is your conviction supported by some presumptions?

"The final answer by Shevardnadze: I am positive that you and your neighbors will get what you want."

Border Surveillance To Be Coordinated With KGB

PM0309155291 Copenhagen DET FRI AKTUELT in Danish 31 Aug-1 Sep 91 p 10

[Thomas Bo Pedersen report: "Latvia and Lithuania Cooperate With the KGB"]

[Excerpt] Riga—There is now every indication that the Latvian Government's assurances that the state intelligence service, the KGB, has ceased to operate in Latvia are not true in practice.

In the last few days 15 top bosses from KGB Headquarters in Moscow have been negotiating the infamous security service's future role with the Latvian authorities.

The KGB leadership wants to continue to operate in Latvia "in accordance with the country's constitution." Hitherto the Latvian Government has rejected this request. But the government is now close to a compromise with the KGB on the interim surveillance of independent Latvia's borders, a spokesman for Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs said.

According to DET FRI AKTUELT's information, the protocol means, for example, that in a "transitional period" the KGB will continue to participate in border surveillance. Up to now the state security service has had a total monopoly on border surveillance throughout the Soviet Union. "We have reached agreement that for a period to come Latvian soldiers will participate in the task of surveillance in their own uniforms on an equal footing with the KGB's people," the government spokesman told DET FRI AKTUELT.

He also confirmed that the protocol does not give a date for the final transfer of border surveillance to Latvia itself.

The government spokesman said that there is also a solution on the way to the problem of the transfer of the Latvian KGB's enormous assets to the Latvian Government.

Lithuania's government has also entered into an agreement with the KGB and the Soviet Army to the effect that the two sides will be jointly responsible for guarding the Polish-Lithuanian border. According to Lithuanian

Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius, the agreement means that it will in future be possible to enter Lithuania without a Soviet visa.

According to Estonia's ETA news agency, Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and Lieutenant General Vasiliy Gaponenko from the Soviet Army in the region have reached agreement on jointly guarding the Estonian border. [passage omitted]

Baltic Council Holds Consulative Meeting in Riga

OW3008125091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Baltic Council held a consulative meeting in Riga yesterday, in which the ministers for finance, economics, the power industry and material resources of the three Baltic republics took part.

The meeting dealt with such matters as economic policy, the development of finances, the organisation of commodity turnover and the creation of a system for the settlement of accounts between Baltic and other republics, above all Russia.

It was decided to use a clearing system for the purpose.

The meeting formed two commissions. One of them is to develop a programme for the settlement of accounts based on the principles which underlay the transactions between the Soviet Union and the former member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The other one is to modernise the banking system, seeking to introduce modern banking technologies in the Baltic republics.

The meeting also dealt with some property issues. Since the Soviet Union owns considerable property on the territory of the Baltic republics, such as major gas pipelines or telecommunications, none of which can be transferred to the jurisdiction of any individual republic, it was suggested that joint-stock societies be set up to run these facilities jointly.

Estonia

Ruutel Issues Statement on U.S. Recognition

OW0209191891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 2 Sep 1991

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Estonian Supreme Council Arnold Ruutel issued a statement today in the evening following the recognition of the Baltics' independence by the United States of America. It says, in particular, that the decision of the U.S. to establish diplomatic relations with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania is an important step "which makes us feel stronger." The statement expresses hope that the U.S. support will help the Baltic states become full members of the UN and other international organizations in the near future. "We face difficult problems on the way to democracy and a market system. But we are sure that the United States and other countries will support us during that period," Arnold Ruutel points out.

Ruutel Views Independent Republic

AU0309071391 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Aug 91 p 1

[Interview with President Arnold Ruutel by Maria Narbutt; place and date not given: "In an Independent Estonia"]

[Text] [Narbutt] A day following the Soviet coup d'etat on 20 August, Estonia declared complete independence. It marked the end of the "transition period" that the Estonian Parliament announced last year in line with the sovereignty declaration.

[Ruutel] The paradox is that the putsch aided democracy. In the independence declaration, we said that Gorbachev's overthrow means that negotiations with the Kremlin and a gradual recovery of freedom are impossible.

A political vacuum arose, similar to the one that preceded the the Estonian independence declaration in 1918, toward the end of the First World War.

However, I want to stress that we would have announced a declaration of independence irrespective of the circumstances. Now, it has simply been speeded up.

[Narbutt] In Estonia, you are known for your tough stance vis-a-vis the Kremlin. It seemed that the Estonia government was more prepared for a compromise. Today, Prime Minister Edgar Saavisar told me that "the policy that was pursued was consonant with present realities." Does that meant that you saw things differently? Were you afraid that what happened recently would occur?

[Ruutel] Everyone said that there would be a coup d'etat in the Soviet Union. I admit that I did not think that it would happen. The democratic camp has recently become much stronger than at any time in the past.

As far as differences between parliament and the government are concerned, there was no official divergence of positions. There is no record of that.

[Narbutt] Estonia will shortly open its own border crossing-points. Does that mean that there is no Soviet Union anymore?

[Ruutel] We never considered ourselves to be part of the Soviet Union. The only change is that now—now that Yeltsin has recognized us—Western states are beginning to recognize our independence. However, the Soviet Union still exists, although its political status is changing by the hour. There are various structures that could be used against Estonia. That is why the recognition of our

independence is still so important. It can prevent a repetition of what happened in the Baltics in January, and there is a possibility that it could be repeated.

[Narbutt] One of the most serious problems connected with Estonian independence concerns the question of the Red Army units stationed on Estonian territory.

[Ruutel] Currently, the commanders of the units stationed here are being replaced to avoid a direct threat. They were people who supported the putsch.

The Army will not leave here today or tomorrow, and we do not have any illusions about that. However, there is no doubt that that must happen. We talked about this on several occasions. However, there is no doubt that that must happen. We discussed the subject with Mikhail Gorbachev last year. I also discussed this with U.S. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and NATO representatives.

It is linked to our concept of the Baltic States as a neutral zone that has no ties with any pact. Finland is already neutral. We would jointly create a pact that would separate East from West. Our neutrality and the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland would create a completely new political situation in Europe. This would, of course, contribute to strengthening trust between the Baltic states and our great eastern neighbor.

[Narbutt] Are there nuclear weapons in Estonia? It is something that Soviet propaganda often talks about and cites as an argument for retaining military bases in Estonia.

[Ruutel] We still do not know. The Estonian Parliament has demanded that if there really are such weapons in Estonia, they should be immediately removed from our territory.

[Narbutt] Estonia would not have military links with anyone. With whom would it maintain economic links?

[Ruutel] We want to continue to cooperate with the USSR. Our economy is accustomed to this kind of cooperation. It would, of course, have to be based on entirely different principles. We already practically have a common market with the Baltic states. We have traditionally cooperated with Finland, and we are increasingly cooperating with Denmark. Talks are commencing with Norway.

Germany is displaying a clear interest in us. We would like to create something resembling a Baltic regional economic accord. It would cover that part of Germany that is situated on the Baltic, and the Baltic and Scandinavian states. It might also include Leningrad and Poland.

[Narbutt] The ethnic situation in Estonia is unusual. Almost 40 percent of the population is Russian. Some of them are unwilling to accept the Estonian declaration of independence and there are fears about what the Estonian authorities next moves will be.

[Ruutel] A moment ago I met with representatives from Narva. I told them that there should be a fair assessment of what happened in Estonia under Soviet rule, that the Russians should acknowledge that they pursued an extermination policy vis-a-vis the Estonians. We were sent to camps and expelled from our country. The truth has to be told. People were sent from Moscow to rule us, and they ruled by banging their fists on the table. Some Estonian cities were closed to Estonians. For example, in Narva only 2 to 3 percent of population remained Estonian. That is something that the Russians must remember, and it must be talked about.

Conditions have to be created that would allow Estonians to return to the cities in which they could not live. On the other hand, if the Russians who lived and worked here should want to return to their native country—and we do receive such letters from them—we will certainly help them to return. We provide material assistance so that they can resettle. This does not mean that they will be deported. It has to be treated as a natural, normal process.

Ruutel, Baltic Military Commander Discuss Ties

LD3008195591 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Arnold Ruutel, Supreme Council chairman and chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council today received Lieutenant General Valeriy Mironov, new commander of the Baltic Military District. Taking part in the conversation were Edgar Savisaar, chairman of the government; Raivo Vare, minister of state; Major General Rein Poder, Estonian military commissar; and other officials. Ruutel said that in the relations with the USSR armed forces there is a multitude of intricate problems, yet there are none that could not be resolved in the presence of good will. In response the Baltic Military District commander noted that his motto is a clear head when assessing the situation, a sensible nature to decisions, and complete mutual understanding. Lt. Gen. Mironov said that a USSR defense ministry order about demobilization of young men conscripted into the USSR armed forces from the territory of the Baltic states, and about a review and conditional release of men sentenced by the military tribunal, has already been received. The order will also allow for the release of those serving a sentence in disciplinary battalions. The order will be carried out. An order has also been given to prepare the buildings of military commissariats and their property to be handed over to the three republics' bodies of authority. The order foresees that local authorities will be informed, as a matter of compulsion, of any movements of forces that are connected with their exit from their permanent location. Major maneuvers and exercises have been banned.

Lt. Gen. Mironov also said that he has approached the USSR defense minister with a proposal to establish—as a result of interstate talks—the status of USSR forces on the territory of the Baltic states. This will achieve the resolution of a considerable section of the present problems.

Edgar Savisaar handed over proposals by the Republic of Estonia Government to the commander of the forces of the Baltic Military District about measures for regulationg relations between the USSR and the Republic of Estonia, regarding matters concerning the forces of the Baltic Military District and other USSR armed forces stationed on the territory of the Republic of Estonia. Agreement was reached that the proposals will be examined at the end of next week. Agreement was also reached that the Estonian leadership and the leadership of the forces of the military district will be continuously in touch. The meeting laid foundations for an understanding dialogue.

USSR Factories Declared Estonian Property

LD3008190491 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Excerpt] The Republic of Estonia Supreme Council today declared the property of enterprises, establishments, and organizations on Estonian territory but under USSR subordination or administration to be the property of the Republic of Estonia. According to the Supreme Council resolution, the Republic of Estonia will organize the management of these establishments and enterprises. [passage omitted]

Savisaar Discusses Visit to Moscow

LD0209213891 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] And now we have managed to get through on the telephone for a call that we no longer hoped to include in this program. We have Edgar Savisaar in Moscow at the end of the line, with Jaan Raudsepp representing this program. [passage omitted]

[Savisaar] This has been one of the most tightly-packed visits [to Moscow] because in the morning work started with the military, with the issue of concluding a temporary agreement under discussion on military issues resulting from our independence. I met Shaposhnikov, the new USSR defense minister, and then General Lobov, chief of the general staff as well as [words indistinct]. And what was under discussion was handing over [words indistinct] systems to the Republic of Estonia. [passage Indistinct]

After that I went to the State Security Committee where I was pleased to see Vadim Bakatin sitting in Kryuchkov's chair. He is perhaps quite worried about his post, about how to organize these matters. With him we discussed the border agreement issue—you know that we have already concluded and signed a temporary border agreement but now we are talking about its extended version and specifications respecting issues of the material-technical means, then, the sea border and exits. And we also discussed the agreement on suspending and ending the work of the KGB in the Republic of Estonia. And we advanced quite well with those matters. Some issues are still there to be coordinated and examined.

Now, late afternoon we had a meeting at the British Embassy with British Prime Minister John Major, who congratulated the Baltic states on becoming independent. He expressed hope that the USSR will soon recognize this independence. We discussed several issues including our UN status. And Major emphasized that as a member of the UN Security Council Britain also wants to take steps for the Baltic states to become UN members as soon as possible. There was also talk about cooperation with the EC. The British Prime Minister was of course very interested in what we think of the USSR or its territory's [words indistinct] future. We agreed that a British minister of state will visit the Baltic states next week and we will then continue the discussion.

[Raudsepp] And tonight Mikhail Gorbachev gave a brief interview - rather, he answered questions from both Central television and CNN, while he could not really provide a direct answer to the future of the Baltic states. [Passage omitted.] hope that the issue will be resolved somehow; or what do you think?

[Savisaar] I can only forecast here, and on the whole I do not like forecasting. But it seems to me that the Congress will still attempt to provide half of an answer to the Baltic issue. I do not yet see the entire USSR leadership as being mature enough to resolve the issue once and for all. Evidently a section of them will attempt to drag it out, and on the other hand, the pressure from the international public is very strong, so they cannot bypass the issue either.

[Raudsepp] Thank you.

Russian Democratic Movement Meets

LD3008230491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Rusian 1800 GMT 30 Aug 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast; correspondent K. Lenk report from Tallinn]

[Text] The Russian Democratic Movement [Russkoye Demokraticheskoye Dvizheniye] has been functioning in Estonia for a long time, albeit illegally. Its aim is to defend the interests of the Russian-speaking population in the republic. The constituent congress of the Russian Democratic Movement of Estonia opened in Tallinn today.

[Lenk] To understand why a new social movement is being born in Estonia right now, at a time overflowing with various events, let me cite the appeal by the action group of that movement to the inhabitants of the republic: We, Russian and other nonindigenous inhabitants of Estonia, support the independence of the republic, and think that the new Estonia can be built only jointly. Therefore, we propose that the efforts of all Russians living in Estonia be united in order that a truly democratic society be constructed in which the civil rights of all its inhabitants are observed.

[Begin A. Ilin recording; member of the action group—captioned] Our closest aim is elections, and the elaboration of a new constitution. That is the aim of the Russian Democratic Movement in Estonia. [end recording]

[Lenk] Edgar Savisaar, head of the government of Estonia, took part in the work of the congress. [video shows participants attending congress; savissaar addressing congress]

Further on Meeting

OW3008220691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A congress of the Russian democratic forces of Estonia opened in Tallinn August 30. The aim of the congress is to set up a Russian Democratic Movement uniting separate Russian democratic organisations of Estonia.

A document reflecting the key principles of the movement says that the congress is seeking cooperation with all democratic forces in order to build a new independent Estonia.

It is also planned to issue an appeal to the upcoming congress of USSR people's deputies to recognize Estonia's independence.

The congress is discussing preparations for the future elections to the parliament and the local authorities of Estonia with the aim to create strong Russian factions there. Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and leader of the Estonian trade unions Siim Kallas have made reports at the congress.

The congress is also attended by activists of Estonia's Intermovement, recently banned by the government. One of its leaders, Viktor Kiemets told reporters that members of the Intermovement had "always adhered to democratic principles" and that they would continue to defend the rights of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia through the new movement.

Agreement With Moscow on Border Protection

LD3008?10891 Hamburg DPA in German 1504 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Tallinn (DPA)—The Estonian authorities will guard the borders of their country together with Soviet units from 2 September.

According to the Estonian news agency ETA, a relevant agreement between Prime Minister Savisaar and a leading officer of the Soviet troops, who have so far been the only authority in charge (of the border), was today adopted by the parliament in Tallinn. According to the agreement, responsibility for the protection of the border is later to be gradually transferred to the Estonian authorities.

Also today, the new commander in chief of the Soviet Army in the Baltics, Valeriy Mironov, told the Estonian Government that the Red Army will hold no more maneuvers in the Baltic countries. This was part of a decree by the Moscow defense ministry, which also said that all citizens of the Baltics liable for military service will be released from their Soviet duty, Mironov said.

Joint Work With Soviet Frontier Guards Begins

OW0209140891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1315 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In accordance with the protocol, signed last week by the Estonian premier, Mr. Edgar Savisaar, and commander of the Baltic Border-Guard District, Mr. Valentin Gaponenko, Estonian and Soviet frontier-guards are beginning to cooperate on September 2.

Director of the Estonian Frontier Department, Mr. Andres Oovel, explained to BF [BALTFAX] that beginning Monday, 70 officers of the department will undergo training under the supervision of Soviet frontier-guards.

Although Soviet frontier-guards undergo nine-months' training, the training programme for Estonian colleagues will be compressed to one week. Afterwards, Estonian frontier-guards will patrol the control posts in the Estonian ports and Tallinn airport jointly with Soviet colleagues. Pending the adoption of new laws regulating the exit and entry procedures, the Estonian frontier guards will be guided by the Soviet laws, said Mr. Oovel.

Subsequently, the Frontier Department will send its officers to other frontier posts to learn the specifics of guarding the naval border.

Mr. Oovel expressed the hope that during the withdrawal of the Soviet frontier troops from Estonia, an agreement on the transfer of part of the property and equipment to the Estonian frontier services will be reached.

Meanwhile, the servicemen of the Frontier Department continue to check the loads passing through 27 posts along the economic border of Estonia. Mr. Oovel said there was a shortage of personnel and added that the only way of solving this problem was to introduce universal military service in Estonia.

Beginning September 2, in the Estonian merchant port and airport, a seal with the Estonian entry visa will be put in the passports of foreigners arriving in Estonia.

Problems of Military Commissariats Viewed

OW3008164891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the newspaper "Rahva Haal", Rein Poder, the Military Commissar of Estonia,

said that terms of the military commissariats' transfer to the local authorities so far have not been established.

He emphasized that the transfer would cause certain problems regarding the payment of pensions to 9,500 retired officers of the Soviet Army living in Estonia, as well as the registration of 7,000 Estonian young men still serving in the Soviet Armed Forces.

A recent order of the USSR Defense Minister permits to demobilize them before the appointed time.

Colonel Denies Nuclear Weapons Near Tartu

OW3108170191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1530 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the Tartu newspaper "Postimees" colonel Valeriy Yanin, commander of a strategic long-range bombers division stationed near the Estonian city of Tartu, denied the assertion of academic Mikhail Bronstein, a deputy representing Estonia, who had spoken before the USSR Supreme Soviet's session Wednesday, that strategic bombers and nuclear weapons are stationed at an airfield in the suburbs of Tartu. Colonel Yanin pointed out that there are no nuclear arms in or around Tartu. Colonel Yanin argues that since the end of the "cold war", not a single bomber carrying nuclear weapons has taken off in the USSR.

Poland Declares Readiness To Establish Ties

LD0209234191 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] A brief ceremony took place today at the Estonian Foreign Ministry. Grzegorz Kostrzewa-Zorbas, deputy director of the European department of Poland's Foreign Ministry, presented a letter from Polish Prime Minister Jan-Krzystof Bielecki to Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar. The letter expresses pleasure at the fact that the last traces of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact are a thing of the past, and congratulates the Estonian people on their independence. The letter also contains a proposal to begin diplomatic relations between the Polish Republic and the Republic of Estonia. The Polish prime minister emphasizes that Poland has never recognized the annexation and incorporation of the Baltics into the USSR.

Germany To Open Embassy in Tallinn 2 Sep

OW3108164291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1530 GMT 31 Aug

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Estonian Supreme Council Chairman's press office, head of the Estonian parliament Arnold Ruutel and Estonian Foreign Hinister Lennart Heri will meet delegations from Germany, Finland and Norway in Tallinn September 2. The delegations will establish diplomatic relations with Estonia. The German embassy is to open in Tallinn Monday.

French Embassy in Tallinn in 'Near Future'

OW3008220791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 30 French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas arrived in Tallinn. He had a meeting with Chairman of the Estonian Supreme Council Arnold Ruutel. After that Mr. Dumas and his Estonian counterpart Lennart Meri signed a treaty on the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two states.

Mr. Dumas told a press-conference in Tallinn that France plans to open its embassy in Estonia in the near future and expressed hope that Estonia would soon do the same in France.

Latvia

Gorbunovs Talks With President Bush

LD0209201991 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT 2 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga September 2 TASS—U.S. President Bush told chairman of the Latvian parliament Anatoliy Gorbunovs in their telephone conversation today about the upcoming official recognition of the independent state of Latvia by the United States.

Bush also said about his country's readiness to restore diplomatic relations with Latvia, in connection with which the United States will soon send its representative to Latvia.

The U.S. President expressed his assurance in the rightness of this political step and added that he hopes it will be a good news for the Latvian people.

Gorbunovs thanked the president for this decision and assured him that it will be a really good news for the people of the republic.

At a news conference here, Gorbunovs stressed that the U.S. recognition of the Latvian independence "will give an irreversible accent to the process of the restoration of its independence".

Latvia counts on the further political support of the United States and hopes for economic cooperation based on mutually beneficial interests, Gorbunovs said.

He called on Gorbachev to follow the example of Yeltsin and Bush as regards Latvia.

Godmanis Briefs Press on OMON Withdrawal

LD0109214491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1330 GMT 1 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Galina Kuchina and Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga, 1 Sep [TASS]—"We have recognized Latvia's independence and do not wish to interfere in its internal affairs," stated Major Cheslav Mlynnik, commander of the Riga OMON before the unit was evacuated from its base.

The last military transport plane carrying OMON fighters left Latvian territory at 0440 this morning. This was announced at a news conference by Ivar Godmanis, head of the republic's government. One hundred and nine OMON fighters and 15 families were taken out of Riga. In all, there were 149 people on the staff of the detachment, one of whom has already been detained. The republic's law enforcement bodies will look for the remainder.

According to the prime minister the Riga OMON left the base without weapons, and is now heading for a new posting. The Latvian government has guaranteed the security of OMON fighters during their evacuation, as well as the protection of family members remaining in the republic. The Prosecutor's Office of the Latvian Republic and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs will carry out an objective and comprehensive investigation into the OMON's actions.

Talks on the fate of OMON lasted for 10 days, and before the issue was finally settled there were temporary media restrictions so as not to whip up the situation. The OMON base will come under the control of the Latvian Ministry of Internal Affairs on Monday.

Black Berets Pull Out

LD0109195891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1900 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] The Soviet Ministry of the Interior has pulled out its special unit from Latvia. Early on Sunday, an Air Force jet with the last of the Latvian Black Berets took off from the territory of that Baltic republic.

On the eve of the departure, the unit commander, (Ceslav Menik), said his troops recognize Latvia's independence and have no desire to interfere in its domestic affairs.

One hundred and nine of the unit's 149 troops, and 15 of their families have left Riga. One serviceman has been detained. It's up to the Latvian law enforcement authorities to clear up the whereabouts of the remaining servicemen.

Riga OMON Commander Interviewed

PM0309085191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Interview with Riga OMON Commander Major Cheslav Mlynnik by Irina Litvinova under the "Direct Line" rubric; place and date not given: "Riga OMON Leaves"]

[Text] Vilnius— Rumors abound regarding the ill-renowned Riga OMON [Special-Purpose Militia Detachment].

The detachment is supposedly about to blow up Riga. OMON is going to be destroyed on the orders of the new commander. An operation will be carried out by the Leningrad OMON detachment... IZVESTIYA has already acquainted readers with the official line on the future of the Riga OMON. Today we publish an interview with Major Cheslav Mlynnik, the detachment's commander.

[Litvinova] An additional guard has been posted on the approach to the base. Why is that?

[Mlynnik] In the situation that has developed around the detachment, we have taken heightened security measures. We are not ruling out the fact that there may be provocations against our soldiers and their families. Tonight our wives and children have moved to the base. This is not fanaticism, but the only means of ensuring their safety. In the event of an attack the women will be defended with us.

[Litvinova] There is an opinion that you yourselves are to blame: You have gotten involved in politics and shed blood...

[Mlynnik] We were convicted without a trial—is that normal? I can tell you about blood. Now a word about politics. Certainly, we have guaranteed the security of the majority of the non-Latvian population, we guaranteed to protect them and observe legality. But local leaders, deputies included, should have performed this function.

Now I will speak as a professional. The detachment was trained and set up to combat organized crime and defend the population against criminal elements. The detachment mainly comprises residents of Riga; we intended to defend our city and our republic against criminals. But we were made into some kind of bogeyman, prepared to shoot peaceful inhabitants. That is not the case. We have given evidence regarding January 's events in Riga and an unbiased court would be able to establish whether we are criminals. We have begun to be persecuted and sentenced without any trial or investigation. That is why we do not trust either the local leadership or local organs of investigation or the court.

[Litvinova] You won't spend all your lives at the base, what way out of this situation do you see?

[Mlynnik] A 12-man delegation led by General Karpochev, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, has arrived in the republic. The rest are from the KGB and

the Defense Ministry, or are representatives of Russia's deputies. They have already visited the detachment and seen that there are no brutes but normal people here. The district's new commander, General Moronov, has also come along. He gave guarantees that the Army and its weapons would not be used to destroy the detachment. I met with Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Council of Ministers. We made suggestions on how to resolve the problem. A discussion is under way. But the detachment will not leave the base or surrender its weapons before we have receive full guarantees of our security and that there will be no repressions against our men and members of their families... [Mlynnik ends]

...The latest news is that it has been decided to redeploy the detachment as a result of talks with the Latvian Government and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs commission. Over the next few days the detachment will leave the base of its own accord and will then be taken by air to a new location outside Latvia. The government has guaranteed the safety of all families of OMON men still on the republic's territory.

Remaining Members Pose Threat

LD0209222191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1910 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] As we have already reported, the Riga OMON left Latvia. Yuriy Maloveryan in Riga has the details:

[Maloveryan] At 0440 on Sunday the last of 14 planes used to evacuate the Riga OMON from Riga to Tyumen left Riga. Altogether, 109 members of the detachment left Latvia, 15 of them left together with their families. All weapons of the detachment were abandoned at the outskirts of Riga at the OMON base. Currently, two regiments of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs are stationed there, which are to be withdrawn in the near future. After a check of the base, which is to be carried out personally by Lativian Internal Affairs Minister Aloizs Vaznis, it is to be handed over to the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Recently, when talks on the withdrawal of the Riga OMON were under way, tension around it did not abate. On Friday, editors of all Latvian newspapers were informed about the government's request not to publish any information about OMON until the final resolution of the OMON issue. The lack of information about Yeltsin's visit to Riga was explained by the Latvian authorities partly due to the fact that the Latvian authorities feared OMON sabotage against the Russian president.

Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis spoke yesterday morning at a news conference and said that even during the recent days there have been two cases when the government was directly threatened by OMON. For example, when there was a one-and-a-half-hour break in communicaiton due to a technical fault between the OMON base and one of the vehicles that carried OMON members, the head of the detachment Mlynnik, personally phoned Godmanis and threatened that if the vehicle did not return within a hour the OMON detachment would carry out a number of explosions at the city's civilian sites. It was only after talks with the USSR Interior Ministry that the OMON attack was averted. Even now, despite the fact that OMON left the republic, one cannot say that Latvia has sighed with relief. Altogether there were 149 members in OMON during recent days and only 109 have left. Yesterday morning at the news conference Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis said that one of 40 remaining OMON members was detained, and the whereabouts of the other OMON members were not yet know. It is not yet known whether they have any weapons. That is why the prime minister considered it necessary to declare that there is still a danger of sabotage. Yuriy Maloveryan, 2 September, BALTIK News Service [previous three words in English] specially for Russia's Radio.

Deputies to Parliament Appeal to Gorbachev

OW0209134391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1315 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On September 2, the Latvian deputies to the Soviet parliament asked President Gorbachev to pass a decree recognizing the state independence of the Latvian Republic—a full-fledged subject of international law prior to 1940. The Latvian deputies believe that a "positive response would be a solid guarantor of good-neighbourly relations between the Republic of Latvia and the emerging Union."

Deputies To Attend USSR Congress

LD3108020191 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2000 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] In connection with the situation that has developed at the USSR Supreme Soviet session and that will possibly develop next week at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the representatives of Latvia have sent our Republic's Supreme Council a special message on their intentions to continue their work in Moscow.

Valdis Ivanovs, a representative of the Latvian Supreme Council press center, reports:

[Ivanovs] The Supreme Council's press center has received a statement from the Latvian mission in Moscow signed by a group of USSR people's deputies from Latvia. There, the surnames have not been released, but we found out that they are Mr. Peters, Mr. Cirulis and also other deputies.

We reported on this statement in news broadcasts during the day, but I would like to note that this group of deputies think it is their duty to be there, at the USSR Supreme Soviet and at the Congress of People's Deputies, as they are invited by those colleagues of Russia who gained a victory during the tragic days of August, I quote. And furthermore, we shall remain here until the end of the session and the congress. We must not turn our backs

on our friends with whom a common historical tragedy has been endured. We must not in a decisive moment deny support to those in the future free peoples and countries with whom God has ruled us to be neighbors for ever. Our relations in the future depend on the actions of today.

Ties Discussed With RSFSR Foreign Ministry

LD3008221191 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Foreign Minishtry officials from the Russian Federation and the Latvian Republic have met in order to coordinate the issues related to the establishment of diplomatic relations between these two republics.

A (?law) project on citizenship, state security, citizen rights, as well as economical matters will be worked out till 3 September.

During the talks the possibility for Russian Federation to represent Latvia's interests in the third countries was touched upon. The question concerning the Abrene region, the former part of Latvia which was passed over to the Russian Federation after the second world war, remained untouched by the request of the Russian party. But this issue can also be raised in case the Latvian Republic insists on it.

Yeltsin Arrives for 'Private' Visit

LD0109142791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1407 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Riga, Sep 1 (Tass)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin is at present staying in Latvia on an unofficial private visit. That was the only comment that Prime Minister Ivar Godmanis made to journalists today. He also stressed that the Russian leader is visiting the republic as a guest of Anatoliy Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet. A minimum of information is explained as "questions of state security and of the safety of the RSFSR president himself", the prime minister said.

No Official Information Issued

OW3008130291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to some unconfirmed reports, the Russian president, Boris Yeltsin, paid a private visit to Riga yesterday. However, the first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Latvia, Dainis Ivans, has told our correspondent that he has no official information to that effect.

Ivans said that Yeltsin may come to Riga on an official visit as early as next week. "All contacts with the Russian president are very important for us," he added.

Resolution on Full Withdrawal of USSR Forces

LD3108134591 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 0430 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] The Latvian parliament has adopted a resolution on a complete withdrawal of the USSR Armed Forces from the Republic of Latvia. The dates of withdrawal are to be coordinated with the Republic of Latvia. It has been decided to request the governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Republic of France to support the demand of the Republic of Latvia for a complete withdrawal of the USSR Armed Forces from the territory of the Republic of Latvia, and also to appeal to UN member states to support this demand.

Former Communist Chief Rejects Treason Charge

LD3108165591 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 31 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga August 31 TASS—A staff member of the CNN television company, who was given an opportunity to meet former Latvian communist chief Alfred Rubiks in the Riga prison, took it upon himself to deliver his letter to Moscow. It is addressed to chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the federal parliament Rafik Nishanov.

Alfred Rubiks, who was arrested on August 23, is being kept in the investigation section of the prison. He refused to give evidence as a suspect and, according to the letter, declared a hunger strike, which is now in its eighth day. The state of his health is under medical control.

The letter, which journalists could read with the permission of Rubiks, describes his arrest as illegal, because the imunity of a member of the federal parliament was violated. Rubiks rejects the suspicion of high treason and the attempt to seize power in the republic, which was the reason for his arrest.

Rita Aksenok, head of the investigation department for especially important cases under the public prosecutor's office of the Latvian Republic, believes, however, that Rubiks took part in the August 19 plot, and there are elements of a crime in his actions. She said that investigators had at their disposal some pieces of evidence and other materials.

Vladimir Serdyukov, assistant to the former Latvian communist chief, was also arrested in connection with the legal proceedings instituted by the Latvian prosecutor's office on the occasion of the attempted coup on the territory of the Republic. He also declared a hunger strike for political reasons.

Rubiks Jailed, Not Beaten

OW0209135391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1315 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chief of the Special Investigation Department of the Latvian Republic's Procurator's Office, Rita Aksenok, told the newspaper DIENA that the participants in the session of the Bureau of the Latvian Communist Party's Central Committee, held on August 19, were being interrogated to reveal the role each of them had played.

Mrs. Aksenok refuted the allegations that ex-First Secretary of the former Communist Party of Latvia, A. Rubiks, had been beaten by cellmates in the preliminary investigation ward.

"This information is absolutely ungrounded," she said. "Obviously, some people are spreading rumours to excite the public."

Mrs. Aksenok said that "the ex-first secretary of the former Latvian Communist Party shares the cell with decent and quiet people who are tolerant to their cellmate's views even though they did not back the State of Emergency Committee." She said that he was kept in normal conditions "adequate to the modest opportunities of the preliminary investigation ward" and that he was visited by his lawyer and by an investigator of the Procurator's Office whose company he did not reject.

At the same time, said Mrs. Aksenok, in protest against his arrest, A. Rubiks has announced a hunger strike. Medical assistance, required in such cases, is given to him. The administration of the preliminary investigation ward has assured BF [BALTFAX] that the health of their client is under medical control and does not arouse any fears.

Mrs. Aksenok also said that within the framework of the legal proceedings, initiated by the Latvian Republic's Procurator's Office in connection with the attempted coup, Vladimir Serdyukov, A. Rubiks's ex-assistant, had also been arrested.

Vladimir Serdyukov has announced a hunger strike, saying that "he is doing so for political reasons," said Mrs. Aksenok.

EC's USSR Envoy Holds Talks in Riga

LD0209021691 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 1730 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Today the minister of economics of the Republic of Latvia was visited by Juergen Kretschmer, representative of the European Economic Community in the USSR, who wanted to obtain full information about the economic situation in Latvia and how Latvia's relations with the USSR and other republics are to be planned in the future. Mr. Kretschmer informed Minister Janis Aboltins that the European Economic Community has allocated 500,000 dollars to financially support projects worked out and proposed in open competition by various enterprises. This aid program covers five separate spheres: training managers of enterprises, improving the banking and finance system, improving food production and distribution systems, energy, and improving the communications system. Next year, Juergen Kretschmer promised, the European Economic Community will examine the possibility of offering special assistance to the Baltic states. [Passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet Meets in Routine Session 25 Aug

PM0209134191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[I. Litvinova report under the "Seven Days On" rubric: "Riga Special Purpose Militia Detachment Will Be Disbanded"]

[Text] A routine session of the Latvian Supreme Soviet was held 25 August. The chief item was a report by the delegation that had returned from Moscow. A. Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, said that, following his report on the involvement of F. Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, in carrying out the coup d'etat in Latvia, the USSR minister of defense dismissed the commander from his post, and literally half an hour later the new commander—Lieutenant General V. Mironov—was introduced to the delegation. Representatives of the Ministry of Defense, the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and the KGB, so their leaders told A. Gorbunovs, will no longer give the Riga Special Purpose Militia Detachment either moral or any other support. They will coordinate their actions in stopping the detachment's activity and disarming it.

Future relations among the USSR Ministry of Defense, the USSR MVD, and the USSR KGB will be built on the basis of special treaties.

The deputies adopted a decision to ensure the economic basis of Latvia's statehood: All enterprises and other civilian installations of Union subordination located on its territory are passing fully to the ownership of the republic.

Many inhabitants of Latvia and opposition deputies are concerned about the fate of Alfreds Rubiks, people's deputy of the USSR and the Latvian Republic, who was arrested 23 August. Questions to the prosecutor's office from several deputies still remain unanswered. Where is the USSR Supreme Soviet deputy? What charge has been made against him? Has his safety been ensured? The moment of A. Rubiks' arrest, which was shown recently on the "Vesti" program with the time recorded on the film, suggested to people that the deputy was arrested several hours before being stripped of his deputy's immunity by the Latvian parliament.

Asked whether it is "lawful to arrest in Latvia a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy who has not been stripped of his deputy's immunity," Deputy O. Kostanda replied that Latvia is henceforth independent, and if the USSR Foreign Ministry has any complaints, it will be possible to resolve the question in talks between the top authorities.

Supreme Soviet Signs Agreement With KGB

OW3008125691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Council of Latvia and officials from the KGB of the USSR signed an agreement on mutual commitments yesterday.

The KGB of the USSR is to transfer to the jurisdiction of the Latvian Republic the former monitoring and communications systems of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. The KGB of the USSR has reserved for itself the right to use government and coded communications systems during the transitional period.

The KGB of the USSR is to return to the Latvian authorities the archieves and documents concerning the Latvian Republic and its citizens which have been transferred from Latvia. The property of the former KGB of the Latvian SSR is to be given over to the Latvian Republic. The KGB of the USSR guarantees that the ex-officers of the Latvian KGB will hand in their weapons.

The parties also decided to guard the borders of the republic jointly before a relevant agreement is reached.

Italian Under Secretary Arrives To Restore Ties

AU3108140091 Rome ANSA in English 1215 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] (ANSA) Riga, August 31—Italian Foreign Undersecretary Claudio Vitalone was in the Latvian capital of Riga today as he continues with his mission to the Baltics to restore diplomatic relations with the three republics, ties rent asunder when Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania were forcibly annexed to the Soviet Union in 1940.

Vitalone arrived here last night from Vilnius where he had handed top Lithuanian officials documents declaring Rome's formal re- establishment of diplomatic relations with that former Soviet Republic.

He stressed that Italy had never given juridical, political or diplomatic value to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, the 1940 agreement between Hitler and Stalin which annexed the Baltics to the USSR.

Upon his arrival here, he was welcomed at the airport by the chairman of the house foreign affairs committee, Mavericks Vulfsons, who voiced Latvia's concern over the continued presence of the Soviet Army on Baltic territory.

Meeting with Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans and the vice- president of the Supreme Council Andrejus Krastis last night, Vitalone said it was fair to ask who would pay for the hurdles placed in the path of history. However, he stressed that this was no time for recriminations, but rather time to buckle down to the construction of the common European home.

The Italian foreign undersecretary, who will also be travelling to the Estonian capital of Tallin, is the bearer of a message to the presidents of the three Baltic states from Italian head-of-state Francesco Cossiga, who is closely following events in this part of the world.

All three Baltic republics have declared their independence from Moscow and have been recognized by Italy.

French Foreign Minister Cited on Relations

LD3008214391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1300 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Excerpts] As we have already informed you, dear listeners, French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas arrived in Riga today. [passage omitted]

Following his arrival, at 1410 the signing by the foreign ministers of the two states of documents on diplomatic relations between Latvia and the Republic of France took place at the Supreme Council's White Hall in the presence of journalists.

Present at the signing ceremony on the Latvian side were Dainis Ivans, Imants Daudiss, Andrejs Krastins, and Mavriks Vulfsons. After that a brief news conference was held. We offer an excerpt from this for your attention. The Foreign Minister of France Roland Dumas speaks:

[Begin Dumas recording in French, fading into sentence by sentence translation into Latvian] We are establishing relations with the Baltics. And therefore we wish to help the Baltic states, especially, no, not especially, but also Latvia. At the same we have the best of relations with the Soviet Union, too, both with Mr. Gorbachev and with Mr. Yeltsin. And not that we are able to choose those people [words indistinct]

The matters as they are, are sufficiently complicated—and all the more so because the Soviet Union is continuously changing, is in continuous motion.

Maybe I am mistaken, but it appears to me that these relations are developing in such a direction in the Soviet Union that they are becoming more flexible.

I regard it as entirely correct that the Soviet Union, more officially than—also takes care of its internal...[incomplete sentence as heard] But at the same time I believe that this movement will lead other republics to independence.

I think that at the end this process, at the end of this movement, everything will assume its place. And I believe that as a result of all these changes this big organism which is called the USSR will change and the Baltic states will regain their independence—of which, by the way, they were deprived by force.

And during this period we shall take care that relations with the Soviet Union, which at the present time are good, will also remain like that.

I forgot to tell you that the Latvian Government has asked me to help the Republic of Latvia to join the

United Nations, and when returning home I shall take with me a despatch to the UN with such a request. I am honored to be here in Latvia. [end recording]

France Recognizes Independence Declaration

LD3008210591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Aug 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Recognition of the Baltic states continues. French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas arrived in Riga today for an official visit. At the Latvian parliament he met the deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Latvia and the Latvian foreign minister.

[Correspondent N. Kasyanova, identified by caption] A joint communique on the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Latvia and France was signed. Among other things it says that the two states will soon open embassies in each other's capital—respectively Riga and Paris—as soon as the technical questions involved have been settled. France will do its utmost to ensure that Latvia becomes a member of international organizations and the United Nations. Thirty countries have already recognized the independence of the Republic of Latvia. The first foreign embassy has opened in Riga. [Video shows new Swedish Embassy] At yesterday's plenary session of the Latvian parliament Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, read out an appeal to USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in which the latter is asked to begin immediate high-level talks on recognizing the independence of the Republic of Latvia.

Roland Dumas Arrives in Riga 30 Aug

OW3008170191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 30, the French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas arrived in Riga to establish diplomatic relations between France and Latvia.

The two sides are expected to discuss a wide range of issues, including the return of Latvia's gold stores abroad.

In 1940 Great Britain held 6.5 tons of Latvian gold, U.S. - 3 tons, France - 1 ton and Switzerland - 5 kg.

Experts note that only Great Britain may pose a problem: in 1967 the USSR and Great Britain signed an agreement that part of gold and hard currency belonging to the Baltics should be used to indemnify Great Britain for losses caused by nationalization of British businessmen's property in the Baltics and in Siberia.

Experts say that it would be more reasonable for Latvia to keep the gold in foreign banks and use it as security for credits.

Foreign Minister on Baltic Policy

OW3008130091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian Foreign Minister, Janis Jurkans, has told our correspondent that the Baltic republics have been invited to take part in a foreign ministers' conference of the Council of Europe at the beginning of September.

Jurkans believes the Baltic countries will be given an associated status (a status enjoyed by Poland and Czechoslovakia—BF [BALTFAX] [as received]) and expects that this will step up the development of free market forces, promote the formation of new economic mechanisms and strengthen the political position of the Baltic republics.

The strategic task is the three states' integration into the European system of security and cooperation. Jurkans hopes the European Community will help the Baltics achieve it.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Hails Bush Announcement

LD0209185391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] U.S. President George Bush announced at 1700 hours Latvian time today the U.S. decision on full recognition of the independence of the Baltic states, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Before the announcement of this resolution, U.S. President Bush informed Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs, and President Vytautas Landsbergis of Lithuania.

This morning Landsbergis proclaimed to western journalists that this step will be important (?for protecting) the future independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Commentinmg on President Bush's announcement, Landsbergis said that in his opinion the diplomatic recognition of the Baltics will mean an end to any aggression and a significant defense against possible aggressors in the future. Landsbergis also spoke in praise of USSR President Gorbachev's words to the American CNN television company, that he was ready to accept the independence of the Baltic states.

Leaders Welcome Recognition

LD0309082391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0639 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius, 3 Sep (TASS)—"The decision of the U.S. Administration to recognize the Lithuanian state is very important and timely," said Lithuanian Prime Minister

Gediminas Vagnorius during his appearance on Lithuanian television on Monday evening. The head of government expressed confidence that in the next few days the Soviet Union will also be forced to adopt an analoguous decision. Bronislovas Kuzmickas, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, also praised the recognition of the Lithuanian republic by the United States at the news conference that took place that evening. According to him this decision by the U.S. administration, which he described as "the culmination of the recognition process", "presents us with very great political guarantees". The deputy head of parliament drew the conclusion that "Now we can already be confident that the struggle for independence is in essence won."

In reply to a journalist's question on the possibility of considering the sluggishness of the United States regarding recognition of the Baltic states as justified, Bronislovas Kuzmckas replied that "the United States and President Bush have felt enormous responsibility for international relations and the fate of the world," besides which, in his words, "it was very important for President Bush to understand the essence of the processes taking place in the Soviet Union."

Landsbergis Cited on Relations With USSR

LD0209130191 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 2 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius September 2 TASS—"We would welcome the decision by the Soviet Union and Mikhail Gorbachev to recognise the Lithuanian Republic," Lithuanian Leader Vytautas Landsbergis told Lithuanian television on Sunday.

"The recognition by the Soviet Union of its mistake, that is the occupation and annexation, need not be in words," Landsbergis said. Lithuania had earlier proposed "restoring legal relations", he explained.

In the past few days Lithuania proposed, to new Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin, to "restore diplomatic relations between the Lithuanian Republic and the Soviet Union", he said.

Landsbergis suggested "crossing out the line in the old, and in many respects bad constitution of the USSR, where the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic was included in the Soviet Union contrary to our will", "officially repel the annexation", "recognise that the decisions of the third congress of Soviet people's deputies are invalid, because they are in fact invalid".

Commenting on the special congress of Soviet people's deputies, which began in Moscow today, Landsbergis said "we should not ask recognition as a gift from the Soviet Union".

Participation by Lithuanian representatives in this congress would be "faulty and even dangerous". If the hardliners destroy the quorum or vote not to let us go, then this (participation) would look like "we had agreed with their decision in advance", he said.

"We shouldn't worry too much how the Soviet Union would settle not our but its own problems," Landsbergis said, adding that "it is not necessary to let us go or not to let us go, we are outside."

Spokesman on Military Base Explosions

OW3108144291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1410 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Audrius Aiubalis, press attache of the Lithuanian parliament, told a news briefing August 31, referring to the information provided by the Lithuanian Home Defense Department, that last night shootings and explosions had been heard at the Northern military base located in Vilnius. Mr. Ajubalis noted that the incident had occurred after the arrival of the Vilnius OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] special unit there. In response to a question by the Lithuanian side what was happening at the base, its representative said: "The OMON's nerves gave out". Supreme Council Vitautas Landsbergis [as received] and USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov will have a telephone conversation today in the afternoon.

Communist Party Secretary Released

OW3008155591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian newspaper "Lietuvos Ritas", quoting Jonas Gaudutis, head of the investigation department at the Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office, has denied rumours about the arrest of the Lithuanian Communist Party [LCP] central Committee's secretary Juozas Kuolialis.

Mr. Gaudutis told the newspaper that Kuolialis had been detained at his home and taken away for an interrogation while his apartment was being searched. After the interrogation, Kuolialis was released.

A correspondent of the newspaper telephoned the former secretary home, but Kuolialis refused to give him an interview.

According to some reports, the rest of the LCP leaders are hiding either in the Vilnius military garrison or in Belorussia.

Communists Removing Documents From Military

LD3008182591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] The following information was conveyed by Egidijus Meilunas, deputy director of the press bureau:

The Government of the Republic of Lithuania is receiving information from Varena, Salcininkai, Trakai, Rokiskis, and other Lithuanian towns and rayons that armed soldiers are removing loads from the military commissariats. Zigmas Vaisvila, deputy prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania, has met with Valeriy Mironov, commander of the Baltic Military District, who stated that in accordance with an order by the Soviet Union's defense minister, cipher equipment, secret installations, and documents, the handing over of which would harm the Soviet Union's state interests, are being removed from the military commissariats.

Lithuania has no claims to the USSR Defense Ministry regarding this equipment. It is asking the people of Lithuania not to gather at the buildings of the military commissariats and to behave calmly.

At the same time, Lithuania informs that the officials of the Lithuanian Communist Party, making use of the removal of military equipment from the military commissariats, are attempting to remove documents exposing criminal activities of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila informed Mironov about this, who promised to take the necessary steps. The corresponding local government commissions are asked closely to observe the removal of the property from the military commissariats.

Vilnius OMON Unit 'To Be Dissolved' 31 Aug

LD3108114291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2300 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] According to the information obtained by Radio Vilnius, the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] unit that has been hiding on the territory of the Soviet military base in Vilnius was to be dissolved today. A Radio Vilnius correspondent who visited the base today was told by one of the unit's chiefs, who wished to remain anonymous, that the relevant order had only arrived today, although he had known four days before that Moscow issued such an order. The OMON officer said that most of the shock troopers would have to flee, and he did not conceal his dissatisfaction. The unit had been earlier told that its members guilty of crimes would have to answer in accordance with the laws of the Lithuanian Republic.

'Plight' of Unit 'Unclear'

OW0209171491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1527 GMT 2 Sep

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Acting Interior Minister of Lithuania Petras Liubertas says the plight of the Vilnius OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] special unit remains unclear. According to the Lithuanian Interior Ministry, part of the unit is still stationed at the Northern military base in Vilnius. The military have not yet transferred arms captured by them earlier to the Lithuanian side.

The Riga OMON left Latvia Sunday.

Military Exercise To Take Place Near Vilnius

LD3008133691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Here is yet another important piece of news: In fulfilling the decision of the government of the Republic of Lithuania of 23 August on information about the movement of the USSR Armed Forces, the commander of the Vilnius military garrison, Frolov, reports that on 31 August, Saturday, at 0700 a column of military equipment consisting of about 100 military cars and armored vehicles will leave the northern suburb along Ukmerges Plentas. It intends to return to Vilnius at about 1700.

Frolov explained that this movement of the column is linked with the examination of driving skills.

The residents of Lithuania, especially drivers, are asked to be calm so there are no unnecessary misunderstandings or incidents.

Labor Party Denies Accusation of Stalinism

OW3108145291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1410 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Lithuanian Democratic Party of Labor (LDPL) has issued a statement saying that attempts are being made to lump the blame for the stalinist crimes in Lithuania onto the LDPL.

"This organized campaign of psychological terror against the party is clearly aimed at destroying it as an opposition political force", the statement points out.

The LDPL came out of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party which had broken away from the CPSU in late 1989. In the autumn of 1990, the independent Lithuanian Communist Party was renamed the Lithuanian Democratic Party of Labor. After the resignation of Kazimiera Prunskiene's Cabinet last winter, the LDPL became an opposition to the parliamentary majority, favoring a less radical way to Lithuania's independence.

The statement says that "the LDPL's aim is to create an independent and democratic Lithuania. This aim is in line with aspirations of the whole nation, the Supreme Council and the government of Lithuania. The LDPL was registered in full compliance with Lithuania's laws and has its representatives in parliament and local authorities. That is why we demand that the campaign of hysteria launched by the ultra-right should be assessed as anti-democratic and anti-state". The statement also expresses hope that "attacks against the opposition party will not raise doubts in the international community about Lithuania's sincere desire to build a law-ruled state".

A BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent notes thar the LDPL's statement follows the demand of the right that the LDPL be banned as a successor of the CPSU. The demand was made by the right-wing Consultative Assembly led by the head of the Latvian League of Freedom Antanas Terleckas.

Enterprise Workers Reassured on Job Security

LD3008181991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] The government press bureau has published the following appeal:

The independent Lithuanian state is striving to stabilize the economy as soon as possible and normalize economic relations with the Soviet Union. A great deal of attention is being paid to successful functioning of the enterprises formerly under union subordination.

The government press bureau is authorized to appeal to the workers of these enterprises whose experience and hard-working hands are very essential to Lithuania. They have no grounds to be concerned about their future and that of their children. The heads of these enterprises who attempted to support the demands of the putschist committee have been dismissed from work. However, there were only a few such people. All other leaders remained loyal during that difficult time to the laws of the Republic of Lithuania. They will be able to continue to successfully work for the benefit of Lithuania.

The economic future of the state and its spiritual condition will depend on the constructive work and responsibility of its citizens.

Vagnorius Receives Danish Ambassador 30 Aug

LD3108002991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2300 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Premier Gediminas Vagnorius today received the Danish Kingdom's Ambassador to the Baltic states, Otto Borch. The (?guest) informed the Lithuanian premier that the Danish government was elaborating a program of collaboration with eastern Europe, the Baltics included. This program will be endorsed by the Danish parliament in a couple of weeks. Next week, Denmark's ministers of economics, foreign affairs and the environment are expected to visit Vilnius in order to discuss concrete proposals concerning the development of bilateral relations in different (?spheres).

German Ambassador Hands Over Credentials

LD0209193391 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 2 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius September 2 TASS—German Ambassador to Lithuania Gottfried Albrecht today handed over his credentials to Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Vytautas Landsbergis.

On the same day, Landsbergis received Irish Ambassador to Poland Richard O'Brian. The sides signed a declaration on the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Lithuania and Ireland.

Then, Landsbergis had a meeting with a delegation of the Japanese Foreign Ministry.

This afternoon, Landsbergis will leave for Hungary on a visit. A protocol on the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Lithuania and Hungary is expected to be signed during the upcoming negotiations.

Japanese Envoy Meets President Landsbergis

OW0309012991 Tokyo KYODO in English 0028 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Vilnius, Lithuania, Sept. 2 KYODO—Japanese emissary Hirokazu Arai told Lithuanian President Vitautas Landsbergis on Monday that Japan supports Lithuania's independence from the Soviet Union.

Arai told Landsbergis that Japan is ready to recognize Lithuania as an independent state "in the extremely near future," Japanese officials said.

In an hourlong meeting with Landsbergis, the Japanese envoy offered support for the Lithuanian people's desire for an independent nation of their own.

Landsbergis welcomed Japan's support, describing it as "good news," and expressed the hope of developing relations between the Baltic state and the Asian economic giant, officials said.

As head of a five-member Japanese delegation, Arai flew to Vilnius on Sunday on the first leg of a weeklong round of calls on the three breakaway Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

The Japanese delegation will later visit Latvia and Estonia and tell leaders there that Japan also will soon recognize their independence too, the officials said.

In Tokyo on Monday, Japan's top government spokesman Misoji Sakamoto signaled that Japan is preparing to officially recognize the three Baltic states after the matter is addressed by the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies at a session which opened Monday.

Lithuanian Radio, TV Coup Reporting Assessed

LD0209215391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Now let's take a look at what has already become the past, but the memories of which will continue to live on for a very long time. (Zygytas Zhilonis) will tell you about the takeover of radio and TV facilities during the hardliners' coup.

Most of our listeners who take a keen interest in DX-ing undoubtedly noticed that a large number of radio stations who have special programmes for DX-ers presented detailed reports about the functioning of Soviet radio stations and their program contents during the 60-hour long coup. Today we too will deal with this subject, focussing on the way Lithuanian radio and television stations operated at a time when the entire world was on edge. We have the pleasure to present you (Zygytas Zhilonis), chairman of the Lithuanian DX Club who kept a very close eye on the developments in the Lithuanian radio and TV:

[Zhilonis] Thank you, (Ofra). The attempt to overthrow the legitimate government of the Soviet Union at the beginning of last week [as heard] affected the functioning of the Lithuanian radio and television. During the very first day of the coup, that's on 19 August, Soviet army troops seized the main radio transmitting station in Sitkunai village, not far from Kaunas, a microwave link station in Kaunas, a microwave link and TV transmitter in Juragiai near Kaunas and in Alytus.

There were also some unconfirmed reports about the seizure of a TV relay transmitter in Marijampole. That same day TV studios in Kaunas were taken under the control of the Soviet military. It was from here that nationwide TV programms were broadcast after the occupation of the Vilnius TV and radio center on 13 January.

In this way on 19 August TV viewers in the southern and central regions of Lithuania could not see the programs of the national television. Although the TV relay transmitter in Druskininkai, for example, was not occupied it could not function since the signals it would normally receive from the Alytus microwave link station were cut off by the military.

In the southern part of Lithuania the only TV transmitter that continued to function was a lowpower one based in Salcininkeliai, a village lying 40 km south of Vilnius which has been used by the east Lithuanian television. The power capacity of this transmitter is only 35 watts and quite naturally programs transmitted by it can be seen in a very small area.

Also seized by the Soviet military were the telephone exchanges in both Vilnius and Kaunas which are used for transmitting the domestic services of the Lithuanian radio by (?wired) radio network. However, the broadcasting of radio programs was not cut off. On 19 August the Lithuanian TV began broadcasting from its regional studios based in the port city of Klaipeda and in Panevezys. Both these studios broadcast the programs by switching on one after another, but they could be seen only in the northern and western parts of Lithuania.

In Vilnius, TV programs continued from the studio located in the parliament building. These programs, however, could be seen by TV viewers in Vilnius only since they were beamed by two low-power transmitters. After taking control of the transmitters, the next logical step for the Soviet troops was to switch them off. Thus, at around 0730 UTC, the main 500 kilowatt transmitter on 666 kHz medium wave was switched off together with the 1107 kHz transmitter used for the broadcasting of the second domestic radio program. Yet before the military took over the Sitkunai radio station the operators took speedy action and managed to report what was going in several languages [as heard].

After the ill-fated attempt to seize Sitkunai on 13 January, two specially recorded tapes were kept in the tiny studio for an emergency, such as this one. One of the tapes contained statements in several languages, the other patriotic Lithuanian songs. No sooner had Soviet military vehicles approached Sitkunai in the early morning of 19 August than the tapes were immediately switched on, going straight upon to [as heard] the air. Regrettably, so far I do not have the recording of that broadcast. You can well understand that the situation was so tense at that time and so many things were happening at once that I really could'nt record it myself. [passage omitted] August 20 was a relatively calm day in Lithuania in the sense that the military had discontinued their offensive. Yet early in the morning of 21 August they renewed their activities by occupying radio and television transmitting stations in Viesintos, northeast Lithuania, and Siaulai, northern Lithuania. As a result, two medium wave transmitters, two FM transmitters and three TV transmitters stopped functioning in Viesintos. In Siaulai meanwhile, the operation of one medium wave transmitter, four FM and four TV transmitters were brought to a halt.

Simultaneously, three low-power TV transmitters were seized and switched off in Panevezys which is situated in north Lithuania. Thus TV viewers in the northern regions of Lithuania could no longer watch the national TV programs. According to the Lithuanian radio, at that time. I quote, the number of people who can still hear us is constantly declining.

Meanwhile, the (?wire) radio network continued to operate throughout Lithuania and [passage indistinct].

UK's Major Lays Wreaths at House of Soviets

LD0109181791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep (TASS)—Fresh flowers from London lay today at the spot where the defenders of the Russian House of Soviets fell during the recent putsch. They were placed there by John Major, British prime minister, who is in Moscow on a short working visit.

Woven into a wreath, they bore two inscriptions. The first is on a ribbon which duplicates the three colors of the British flag and says: "From the prime minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland." The second says: "In memory of the few who gave their lives for the freedom of millions. John Major." A wreath was also laid by Douglas Hurd, British secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs.

After the ceremony the British prime minister talked to a few Muscovites, thousands of whom had gathered at this scene of heroic deeds and of grief.

Then the guest headed for the British Embassy where he has his residence to meet the leaders of the Baltic republics.

Discuss Ties With Yeltsin

LD0109223391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Today, or to be more precise yesterday, 1 September, Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, received John Major, prime minister of Great Britain, in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] House of Soviets. A conversation took place in the course of which the sides exchanged opinions on a wide range of issues relating to the political situation in the USSR, and also to cooperation between the Russian Federation and Great Britain and, on a larger scale, with the countries of the Seven. Boris Yeltsin spoke about the major directions of the economic and political reforms aimed at setting up the qualitatively new union of sovereign states. It was stated that it is necessary to retain a single economic area and the union armed forces along with the indispensable control of the USSR's nuclear arms by the center. The desire was voiced yet again to speed up the implementation of joint cooperation programs agreed with the leading countries of the West.

Touching upon the political situation in the USSR, the president of the Russian Federation noted that at the forthcoming Congress of USSR People's Deputies the leadership of the Russian Federation will support the new course of President Gorbachev aimed at speeding up reforms and extensive democratization of society. John Major congratulated President Boris Yeltsin and the Russian people on the victory over the organizers of the putsch and expressed admiration for the courage displayed by the defenders of freedom and democracy.

The position of the British leadership toward intensifying economic cooperation with the USSR, provided there is a specific program of fundamental reforms in the Soviet economy, was set out during the conversation and intention was voiced to deepen direct cooperation with Russia and with other sovereign republics.

Yeltsin Reviews Major Visit, Defends Gorbachev

LD0209011291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 01 Sep 91

[Text] British Prime Minister John Major arrived in our country today on a short working visit. As we have already reported, he spent three previous days in conversations with U.S. President Bush on future steps by Western countries regarding the USSR, bearing in mind those changes that took place during the last few days.

At the airport the high-ranking British guest was met by Ivan Silayev, the representative of Russia and the representative of the Soviet Union. Later a ceremony marking the official start of the visit was held in the Kremlin, where Major was met by USSR President Gorbachev. In the course of their talks, the sides discussed problems in the relations between the two countries, but as we explained later, the main topic of the conversation was devoted to economic issues.

Then John Major laid a wreath at the place where the defenders of the White House died.

At the British Embassy the prime minister held a meeting with the wife of Oleg Gordievskiy, a Soviet turncoat and a top KGB official, and then with the premiers of the Baltic states.

In the second half of the day Major presented his program of economic reforms for the USSR to the committee for the operational management of the national economy.

Then he had an hour-long conversation with the RSFSR president followed by a short news conference. Answering journalists questions Boris Yeltsin said:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] We spoke mainly about the Russian Federation. We are ready to cooperate according to very specific programmes—six such programs were named, and I think that Great Britain and seven other states are ready to cooperate according to them. I also said that Gorbachev, the country's president, is not what he used to be before the coup. Today it is apparent that he is tuned in for radical reforms, and that was not so apparent before. Today he undoubtedly enjoys greater trust on the part of the Russian leadership. If there are any machinations at the congress tomorrow, of course, we will be defending him. [end recording]

Khasbulatov Comments on Yugoslav Crisis

AU0109200791 Crna Gora TVCG Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Interview with Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic Supreme Soviet, by reporter Vojislav Klisic; place and date not given; in Russian with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation]

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] parliament, visited Montenegro recently. What does he think about the crisis in Yugoslavia? Here is what he told our colleague Vojislav Klisic.

[Khasbulatov] We have already said that Yugoslavia is experiencing something similar to what is happening in the Soviet Union. Of course, I am not in favor of republics' leaving the Soviet Union. Therefore, I would not want Yugoslavia to be subjected to balkanization; that is, to a process of division. If some republics want this, then I would not want it to be done in a military way, using the Army, but through negotiations. This is my view.

For a whole year and half, we were trying to persuade Gorbachev that he must not exert pressure on the Baltic republics and the Caucasus region using the Army. One should sit at the negotiating table and find a compromise solution. This is also needed and is probably possible in Yugoslavia.

Of course, we would build relations as we would with a friendly country, even if disintegration takes place, because if the people have decided to live in a certain way, preventing them from doing it is very difficult, very complex. Of course, I would like, I repeat, for Yugoslavia to remain a unified country, but if its peoples want to live in separate states, this process should be accomplished through negotiations between the republican governments and parliaments. This is the only normal, civilized, and humane way. We must not go back to the Middle Ages and kill one another.

Kozyrev Interviewed on Border Conflict Issues

LD0109095991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0630 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Interview with Andrey Kozyrev, Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic foreign minister, by correspondent Julia Torde in Budapest; date not given; Kozyrev speaks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Torda] Mr. Minister, I suppose you too know what a storm was caused by the recent statement of Russian President Yeltsin's press secretary, which said that if certain republics leave the Soviet Union, then Russia will be forced to initiate the modification of certain borders. How did the idea of changing the borders arise in the first place?

[Kozyrev] In many places there is no precise border between republics. Thus, we will have to define precisely the borders with those republics which do not sign the Union treaty. Apart from this, we also have territorial demands against some republics. The modification of borders can only be carried out, however, following agreements reached through negotiations. We pledge to seek a solution without force.

We consider those borders that are already national borders to be inviolable, however, in accordance with the Helsinki agreement. If certain republics leave the Soviet Union, then we will establish bilateral relations with them too, on the basis of Helsinki; the moment they leave, their borders are no longer to be viewed as internal, but external borders.

[Torda] The modification of internal borders is also an interesting problem peculiar to the Soviet Union because, for example, the territory of Konigsberg, or Kaliningrad, which now too belongs to Russia, was given to the federal state in accordance with the Yalta Agreement and the Paris peace settlement ending World War II. It became part of Russia on the basis of Stalin's decision. If, say, Lithuania or Belorussia become independent, however, then a peculiar situation could arise. One could only travel from one part of Russia to another through another country.

[Kozyrev] Yes, for example, we have already signed a bilateral agreement with Lithuania, which borders the Kaliningrad district, on the joint development of this area. We incorporated Russia's rights and possibilities in this agreement. We will cooperate with the Kaliningrad people in areas such as traffic or goods procurement. So, everything is happening on the basis of agreements. We have already started to sort out this problem.

[Torda] Since Yeltsin's press secretary raised the subject of the modification of borders, in the president's name, the international press has been saying that this problem could perhaps lead to a civil war within the Soviet Union.

[Kozyrev] This poses a great worry for us now, and it could in truth lead to civil war if the leader of one of the republics uses force. I hope this will not happen.

[Torda] I suppose the situation with the Baltic states is different, because Russia was one of the first to recognize the independence of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Therefore, here there can only be a question of bilateral talks.

[Kozyrev] First of all, we have no territorial demands against the Baltic republics, so the borders now valid in the Baltics will become state borders. Regarding diplomatic representation, we will shortly send envoys to these republics.

[Torda] So, against which republics does Russia have territorial claims?

[Kozyrev] I cannot detail this for tactical reasons. I would add, however, that Russian Deputy President Rutskoy and my deputy are right now holding talks about such topics with the Ukrainian leaders.

[Torda] Observers point out that it is precisely the Ukraine which most fears possible so-called Russian expansionist endeavors; for example, the Crimean peninsula, which originally belonged to Russia, until Khrushchev annexed it to the Ukraine with the stroke of a pen.

[Kozyrev] Journalists are liable to over-dramatize certain situations. I do not think that the Ukraine has any cause to fear some kind of Russian expansionism. This is not the way we wish to reach an understanding with the Ukraine.

Yeltsin's New Control Administration Outlined

PM0209142191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 1

[Ye. Yakutina report: "Prosecutors of All Russia"]

[Text] The days of the coup d'etat showed the political diversity of state functionaries—some of whose personal likes and doubts prevailed over the laws and decrees of the president of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. The control administration of the RSFSR president's administration now being created has prepared the draft of the first decree on the appointment of the president's representatives in national-territorial and administrative-territorial units. The new service will inspect state apparatus, including the upper echelons of power.

As V.A. Makharadze, chief of the control administration and chief state inspector of the RSFSR, told us that the powers of the presidential representatives are defined by the establishment of presidential power in Russia. They are not the president's governor generals [namestnik], they do not have the right to show favor to left or right, and the extent of their power is determined by the will of the RSFSR president; that is, if the president deems it necessary, he will grant powers to his local representative.

The new service does not duplicate the RSFSR Supreme Soviet control chamber because only the organs of administration will be supervised. It will, however, be a successor to people's control and will take all that is best and useful from that defunct structure.

President's Office Issues Appeal on Food Supply

LD0209161191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1200 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] The Department of Information of the RSFSR president has circulated among Soviet and foreign mass media an appeal to a number of collective farm chairman and state farm directors, heads of farms and enterprises of the food processing industry, and farmers and all those working in the countryside. The appeal says that the extremely serious situation now existing in Russia with regard to supplying the population with food has forced the department to take this step. It appeals to the heads of farms to take measures to insure the unconditional fulfillment of the tax in kind and the state procurement for all types of agricultural produce, especially grain, not to allow a further reduction in the number of cattle, both in the public and the private sector, and to waste no time in expanding the area under winter crops, which are the basis on which to increase grain production.

An appeal is addressed to the heads of industrial enterprises not to take advantage of the difficulties being experienced by the countryside, as unjust barter requisitions in selling to the countryside disrupt the necessary centralized procurement and destabilize the food market in the republic.

Addressing the heads of transport organizations and food and processing enterprises, the appeal says that the heads of arms are requesting them to provide uninterrupted deliveries and processing of the products, and not to allow spoiling and loss.

This highly important task of providing the country with food can only be resolved by joint efforts, the appeal stresses.

Council of Ministers Chairman Silayev Interviewed

LD3108203191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0950 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Interview with Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Council of Ministers by Lapina—live]

[Text] [Lapina] Ivan Stepanovich, before I begin I would like to carry out a few necessary formalities. The telephone number to contact us on is 217-45-63. Let me inform you that we shall be on the air for 40 minutes and promise that our broadcasts will be quite frequent. We will inform you later what interval there will be between them.

There we are then. And while the first calls are coming in, Ivan Stepanovich, I would like you to tell us about your new post. You are now not just simply chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] Council of Ministers but you also head the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy. Many people understand that this combination is not a simple one and evidently people would like to know whether or not this committee is a type of transitional period government.

[Silayev] Thank you. It is just that—temporary, but I would like to remind listeners and to say this: I have come here as chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and our future meetings will be in the traditional mode, as we said, once every two weeks, precisely as

chairman of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR. I will not, however, refuse to answer questions concerning the work of the committee.

Well, in essence, a question has been asked. It is not a future cabinet, because it is still not known whether such a cabinet will exist. My point of view as the prime minister of Russia is that I think it is quite possible there will not be one. It is possible there will be some small structure simply under the president, but evidently, the Congress will discuss these questions. I, as chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, also intend to communicate my ideas to the president on this subject. Thus, it is a temporary, absolutely temporary body, which is called on to support the functioning of the country's national economy and nothing more than that.

[Lapina] While you were replying to that question, I have been brought the first two questions. They have not been written by typewriter but have been printed. It seems that TRUD journalists knew about our program today and also decided to ask questions as viewers, as it were. They were evidently afraid they would not get through by phone and published them in today's newspaper. Here is the first question. Is the threat of this winter a real one? Will people be hungry and cold? That is a specific question which also worries many people.

[Silayev] I can state seriously that in the first place, we will do everything for Russia to ensure that this does not happen and I am addressing the people of Russia, after all. The first steps of the cabinet, which you speak about, began precisely with concern for supplying food to the country as a whole. Therefore, we spent two days in preparation, we looked at various ramifications of a decision, and this morning, before coming here I signed this decision on supplying the citizens of the country with food during this fall and winter period, and naturally next spring.

We will do everything necessary and I ask you not to fear this winter even if, as they say, this winter may be a rather colder one. That is the second part of our concerns. In the next few days we will look at the problems and make decisions connected with the preparations for winter, with fuel and electricity supplies. These are our primary tasks. In the short time that we have, we intend to undertake the most serious measures.

[Lapina] Here is a question which, of course, can only worry us. Some readers express the fear that the victory over the plotters will turn into wholesale distrust of people and the illegal persecution of dissenters.

[Silayev] This is worrying a lot of people and it has worried us, too, because, in a way, it began spontaneously from below. Some citizens, including some citizens of Russia, are displaying negative qualities—suspicion, distrust, and in some places even attempts to settle old scores or to get their own back, as they say, on those who were not in agreement but who did not come out openly in support. Perhaps someone did not come out actively. But human character is diverse. Perhaps someone did not have the strength to say this openly but did not participate, did not openly state that he supported this junta.

Therefore, I would like to take advantage of the opportunity that I have been given to request the law enforcement bodies in the localities, everywhere, and in the country as a whole and particularly in Russia not to permit such phenomena. And I would ask those citizens who are now being subjected to any attacks, slander, and condemnation to address themselves to the local law enforcement bodies. I instruct our Ministry of Internal Affairs and other services to look into these matters and to take under their protection those who are starting to be defamed.

This is impermissible. It is against the law and, using all the powers and means which are at the disposal of the leadership of Russia and now the Committee, we will do everything to ensure that this violence is ended. I once again make an appeal: It is wrong to treat each other with suspicion, it is wrong to make unsubstantiated accusations outside the framework of the law. If any doubts exist, then the appropriate law enforcement bodies exist. These are not the KGB which were the instigators of all this activity—although there, too, there are some very decent people working, and no wholesale round-ups or anything like that should be organized against them. In the main, decent people have been working everywhere and all of this was undertaken by a top group of adventurers. Therefore, their responsibility should not be unloaded onto the responsibility of ordinary people, officials on the periphery including Communists.

Yes, indeed, the communist center, the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo is guilty, terribly guilty. It was in essence the organizer of all the preparation for and carrying out of this putsch. Millions of Communists did not support and do not support this policy. They condemn it and are working honorably. Therefore, it will be very dangerous if people now persecute ordinary party members, ordinary functionaries. Those who worked in the localities, particularly on the periphery and have not muddied themselves in any way, are citizens of Russia; they are citizens of the Soviet Union. It should not be allowed in any event, it would be a disaster. It would be a major catastrophe if a witch hunt begins as has occurred in the past.

[Lapina] Here is a question, a note from Aleksandr Rudnev from Voronezh. What delight everyone felt with democrats and democracy when it became clear that fascism would not triumph. But now there are appeals to strike down the Communists. Newspapers are being closed, deputies are being abused, and the Union is falling apart. Are we not being threatened with a new danger? What difference does it make from which wing it comes, the feeling of catastrophe is not going away. Well, Ivan Stepanovich, in spite of the distortions of democracy, forgive me for using such a sharp term, in my

opinion we avoided the worst thing, ruin and catastrophe. People with the psychology of animals tried to hush us up in the stall.

[Silayev] Well, first of all, I thank Comrade Aleksandr Rudnev—he did not give his patronomic—for raising the question so frankly. To some extent this alarm is felt evidently not just by you but by others, too. In the first place, well, I am going to speak officially, there should be no directives or even slogans saying strike down the Communists. This can only be ignorant, badly brought up, crude and wicked people who behave in this way. Of course, it is necessary to combat this and we are going to do that. It is simply immoral and unethical to defame, say, rank and file Communists, ordinary citizens, of whom there are millions in Russia. This must not be done.

It is a different matter that in these grim days, when we, the whole leadership of Russia were isolated, cut off from the whole world, we adopted a number of decisions which we consider were quite correct for wartime, which is what it was. We began with the appeal at nine in the morning. We transmitted it via the embassies and foreign journalists. We were unable to communicate with our regions, with the people of Russia, and we had to make use of that method. We issued a number of wartime decrees. They were not at all directed at any mass condemnations or at starting any checks, starting any persecutions. And I must say that last week, on Monday, the first meeting of the State Council of Russia took place. We discussed this question. And all of us, all the members, headed by the president, agreed not to permit, not to permit in any event, the persecution of those who believe differently, if they are protected by the law, if they act within the framework of the Constitution. Our structure is already a multi-party one and it is impermissible for those who enter on this path to act in this way. If they enter on this path they will be pursued in accordance with the law and condemned, naturally, by society. We will not permit this.

[Lapina] Ivan Stepanovich, naturally there are many questions about the putsch and its consequences, but life goes on and so let us now give preference to specific questions. Valentin Ivanovich Sternovskiy from Bryansk asks: Will the Russian government change prices and will the former, pre-April, prices be brought back?

[Silayev] Well, Russia's government would be delighted to set the lowest possible prices. Unfortunately, things have already gone so far that this is no longer possible. We have a different objective. First, by exploiting the measures and resources available to us, we intend to prevent a further hike in prices. This is the direction in which we will work. We have, of course, experienced great difficulties. At every step we suffered from structural weakness. The center, the Cabinet of Ministers, headed by Pavlov, endlessly impeded our initiatives, refused to cooperate with us and introduced completely independent, arbitrary reforms and directives which, naturally, destabilized the economy. This center no longer exists. I am confident that such a center will not return. There will, obviously be a center but this will be one which will help the Republics to reform their economies and societies, which will help rather than foist things on them. Consequently, we now have an opportunity to implement our carefully considered economic reform more independently and more effectively.

I reiterate that it is only through reform, which has been clearly formulated and planned both in terms of time and action, that we can emerge from today's situation, with control over our natural and intellectual resources. Russia is extremely rich in these resources. Unquestionably, we are capable of quickly resolving many problems which now bother us—the problem of need, of food, the social situation. Unquestionably, we will place emphasis on this, basing our policy on the principles of new economic relations.

I do not want our friends to think that we are now going to restructure our views, review our principles. I assure them that we will strictly follow the principles which we have proclaimed. This is the correct way of improving things and achieving economic development in future.

[Lapina] Here is another question. How will work and trade with the Baltic Republics be conducted? In rubles or freely convertible currency?

[Silayev] You are probably aware, esteemed Russian people—I realize that this is Alla Petrovna from Moscow who is addressing me—that recently I signed an economic agreement with the prime minister of Moldova. We went there with a government delegation. We firmly and clearly signed an agreement on new principles of economic relations on the basis of world prices. There was another conversation to the effect that at the moment we are not rich in hard currency—and they have even less; therefore, appraisals will be conducted on mutual supplies at world prices. There is a so-called clearing-house procedure to offset this commodity exchange, but at the level of world prices. The same thing will apply to the Baltic region. I have to tell you that we recently signed an agreement with Kazakhstan, and there we also signed a very serious clause whereby, according to a certain nomenclature—we will have to agree on this—these calculations will be based on world prices. Therefore, we consider that this is a new economic structure of mutual relations—and I realize that the new union will no longer be a political one, but an economic one, on the principles of an economic agreement. World laws, civilized laws of economic relations, must operate here, without causing damage to the economy and by cooperating on precisely present-day economic principles of mutual advantage, and by no means on any throwaway prices to the benefit of the other side, but on the level of world prices on the most important positions.

[Lapina] I have a question. Would you please comment on the statement about a review of borders? Does this mean that the Crimea, in the event of the division of the

Ukraine, will go over to Russia—Ivanchuk, Simferopol. Well, I think that the question is too specific. Today., well, nevertheless, indeed, Ivan Stepanovich, the whole question of the extent of the border is a dangerous matter, and I have in mind how many wars there have been in the history of human civilization precisely because of territorial claims.

[Silayev] Yes. But, you see, it might have been stated too categorically and hastily, but the sense of it was—and once again opinions were exchanged in our conversation with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin that when states become absolutely independent, then there could be certain territorial problems, but not, of course, on the principles that we would seize the Crimea from the Ukraine, move upfront and appropriate it. No. Any problems should, of course, be tackled with a mutually respectable attitude to one another. Any problems which may arise on our part, and, on the other hand, any problems put to us, should be examined in a civilized way, as agreed upon, as it is done elsewhere in the world, and not out of the blue or without warning.

Take the so-called Northern Territories of Japan. This is a very lengthy process. There is an issue at stake here, the issue of these tiny islands. If it exists, it should be dealt with. The position of our negotiating partners should be studied very carefully. This must be approached exactly the same way. Arbitrary, high-handed reshaping of borders is inadmissible of course. However, talks leading to agreement and accord are possible. That is the only way it can be done. Again, civilized methods are needed.

[Lapina] Ivan Petrovich Aleksandrov from Moscow asks how much material damage was done by the coup. I would add another question myself. The losses must surely have been calculated already, or will have been soon. But we are not being told what they are. One would like to know how far back our economy has been thrown. For example, private foreign capital has obviously been turned off for a long time. After all, that is one of the main channels for obtaining foreign currency, and much else besides.

[Silayev] Yes, the Western world has been alarmed of course. Western partners are extremely worried, they are dismayed, I would even say. Therefore, it is no coincidence that the prime minister of Great Britain is arriving in our country tomorrow. On behalf of the G-7 he wants to find out first-hand what the situation is, to hold some meetings, if only symbolic ones, and to get to the bottom of this matter. The military putsch has greatly alarmed them, unquestionably. They may not be terribly bothered from the economic point of view. They can wait. It is us who cannot wait. But they are worried about weapons, especially strategic weapons. Throughout those three days they were worried that this might all result in a nuclear conflict. Adventurists are always prepared to resort to anything, especially when they are losing hope of gaining something. Once it becomes clear that nothing has been gained, maniacs are capable of anything. Thank God, we survived and did not let such a thing happen. All the same, they have some pointed questions to ask.

Well, I do not think this will take very long. We are receiving very many inquiries, telegrams, and letters, with requests to meet at state level, at the level of state leaders, to meet Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and myself. I know that other republics are also receiving such proposals. This will be normalized soon. But the actual damage done during those three days and in subsequent days was quite considerable.

After all—and I refer to Russia at least—it was practically not functioning. And not because we called for the extreme resort of a strike. And may our RSFSR citizens not condemn us that we resorted to this. We did not see any other means when we were completely cut off and surrounded. There were 50 tanks around the White House. You can imagine what that means. At the approaches there were 200 tanks. It was only the citizens of Russia who defended and, quite frankly, saved us. I think everything has already been properly described—who did what and when, so to speak. And it was then that these processes started—the sessions and rallies and speeches. And of course the work did not proceed full tilt. We should not consider that we lost out, as it were, thereby, although it was another piece of damage inflicted by the junta. We are now considering all this and taking stock. On the other hand, however, I think and am convinced that we shall be able to make good the losses through a more effective Russian economic policy. The putschists released us from the tyranny of the former central regime. After all, there is a principle that good comes out of evil. We will work more effectively and confidently. Nothing will get in our way now—either from the center, or from left or right. We will pursue a completely independent policy. We will naturally pursue cooperation where it is advantageous to us and to other republics. So in the immediate future we will assess the full damage in all spheres, and we will publish the findings in our press.

[Lapina] Ivan Stepanovich, you have already partly replied to this question at the start of the program. Nevertheless, let us return to the functioning of the committee which you are head of at the moment. The question is from Sergeyev in Moscow: The union government has been retired; ministries are being sent packing—and good riddance to them; but the new administrative structures are not in position yet. Does Comade Silayev have a clear view of what they should be like? There you have it, Ivan Stepanovich: on the one hand, good riddance to them, and on the other hand this slightly defensive implication that there is a difference between destroying and building. Our pre-perestroyka society was very aptly called a society of universal hypocrisy. They did one thing, they thought another, and they saw things in yet another way.

[Silayev] Yes.

[Lapina] The union government fitted this description precisely. Now changes in society are clear to behold, but what of the union governments? The Ryzhkov Government resigned, and we got—pardon the crude expression—the Pavlov government. Does a mechanism exist that can help deliver the union government from this sort of hypocrisy?

[Silayev] Well, in the first place, I would like to say that as yet no one has sent anyone packing. We do not have the right to do this. This structure existed in accordance with the Constitution. We have issued a decision in accordance with which we have given instructions as a rule to the first deputy ministers to work in the branch ministries to function as leaders of these industries. We must not today wreck and ruin everything before we have the clear principles of the new Union relationships.

Yes, I have my own model, formula, my own idea and this is not just my personal position but that of the Russian Government and accordance with this, in general one can do without a cabinet, at least. There is the president, the supreme executive power. The president could have some sort of functional teams in so far as they will be useful to the economic union of all the republics. There will not then be the structure, not to mention a Ryzhkov or Pavlov who could dictate and suppress, well which could as a minimum redistribute things. I am sure that there will be none of this. Not a single republic will agree to this.

But as to what sort of structure there will be, well the Congress starts works the day after tomorrow and it should decide. we, Russians, and on the whole the committee, our members of the committee, we will be putting forward our ideas on this matter. But one can consider that this will be a sort of minor debut for the structure in which the work will be done by either high-ranking representatives or leaders representing all the republics.

Here I wish straight away to calm some citizens particularly those from other Union republics some of whom indignant saying that in the committee there are six members of the Russian Government and they have given our poor republics what for. Yesterday morning on my own initiative I put forward the proposal that these six, and I am the seventh out of a total of 28 members—all the republics are represented—take part in the work and have responsibilities. However, when decisions are being taken then the Russian Government will have just one vote. That is my vote, as chairman of that committee and as a Russian. This relieved that tension and in general we began to understand one another and to a certain extent we evidently will work up from the point of view of a model, a mechanism of what there will be in the future. What there will be in representatives of all the bodies of executive power of the republics, the prime minister, the chairmen. It could be under the president. This indeed is fully realistic. The enormous mass of ministries is not needed, because to a great extent their functions have already departed to the republics. Now these functions will even more energetically be handed over to the republics.

Finally, the Congress will decide what kind of economic society there is to be, and in respect of the republics certainly no one will be making decisions for them. But as I understand it, the republics are represented at the Congress and it will be determined there.

[Lapina] I have here two questions. How will science develop and what will Russia's government do for the development of science? After all it is in a very rundown state. That question comes from Doroshenko. Roughly on the same theme is this question: What are the prospects for the USSR Academy of Sciences? Will there be a Russian Academy of Sciences, asks Shatalova from Leningrad. Somehow the question of the development of science is a matter that is more important than ever now.

[Silayev] I thank these two esteemed women for asking these questions—namely, Lidiya Yefremovna Doroshenko and Comrade Shatalova who did not give her first name and patronymic. I thank you for posing these questions. In general, I consider, and our Russian Government considers, that it would be inadmissible if citing our poverty and our difficulties we start reducing expenditure on scientific research and experimental design work, even in the military sphere. The fundamental difference is that this work must be dual purpose—both for civilian use and for military use. This is widespread in the West. So the Russian Government will defend science. Despite all our budgetry difficulties we will be providing for the appropriate budget resources to fund deep research. Budget money must be allocated for research and experimentation. As for applied and design work we will of course in this area be granting great freedom to enterprises on the basis of the principles of freedom of action and on the basis of market principles, while once again giving backing in this area. Under no circumstances must we permit the loss of our main potential, say, after resources—namely, the scientific and technological achievements and, so to speak, the corps of scientists, engineers, academicians, and everyone. We will protect this, and moreover we are now pondering on the forms. In the near future a fund for the advancement of science will be set up on the initiative of a large group of defense industry institutes. We will pursue a policy of supporting and developing scientific research and supporting the staff employed in this sphere.

[Lapina] Will the presidential tax be abolished? Kostin, Moscow.

[Silayev] Well, in many respects it is already abolished today. As I understand it, Valentina Petrovna, you are thinking of the hard currency tax. We in Russia have our views on this, at least we, through a decision of our committee which we are talking about, through the first decision on food, we have abolished all taxes on exports and imports connected with the provision of food for the

population, completely, equally in ruble and in hard currency settlements. This is going to start operating from today, from tomorrow. And on the whole the system of taxation generally will obviously have to be reexamined. The bulk of resources will go to the regions, to localities, to municipalities for the solution of social issues, for the development of infrastructures, and naturally a significant part of resources should remain at enterprises for developing production, for investments in order to develop and increase the quantity of goods, food and so on.

[Lapina] Is the Council of Ministers discussing the question of residence permits, and if so, what decision can be expected and when? Voronezh, (?Yusykh) Olga Vasilyevna.

[Silayev] I would like to apologize to you, Olga Vasilyevna, but we have not yet reached this point. We understand that this too is a very important issue, but there are issues that are far more critical and important. But I promise that at some time we will turn to this problem too.

[Lapina] Ivan Stepanovich, what steps are you and your team going to take to make easier the work of Russian entrepreneurs? What do you think about taxation policy? Tamilin, Ivanovo oblast.

[Silayev] I would like to remind you, Grigoriy Anatolyevich, and I am not afraid to repeat this for the fifth or sixth time, one can say that Rome was saved by geese, allegedly, while I think that Russia will be saved by entrepreneurs, entrepreneurs in the classical, Russian, noble sense of the word, as people of business. That is those who today are capable of working, those who can organize production, those who can start up commercial business, both in their own interests and in compliance with the law, without abuses. They are going to multiply the Russian potential, and we will without fail continue to cooperate more closely as a whole with the corps of entrepreneurs, and I am prepared, they are welcome, not everyone is wanted right away but just some areas, to meet them, any of them can phone me, and we could hold a series of meetings and perhaps meet in groups, as a whole group, and discuss what still needs to be done in legislative terms in order to make their work easier, raise their efficiency from the point of view of efficiency in the national economy, which means also their own interest.

[Lapina] Here is a question, Ivan Stepanovich, which, to put it frankly, is at present worrying very many people. Will Ivan Stepanovich agree to be chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR if he is offered the post? The people of Russia are worried.

[Silayev] I gave my consent for two to three weeks. I think that after Russia saved us it would simply be not very good if I even had that intention. And having lived through these difficult days—even earlier I linked my fate with Russia as a state official—from conviction, too, I cannot do this. And I think that this would be unseemly on my part with regard to the people of Russia.

Therefore, of course, I shall evidently disappoint Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. He evidently has this possible option involving me. But I shall not leave Russia as long it places its trust in me.

And, finally, I was confirmed by the Congress. If the Russian Congress should say something to me—go here or go there—I shall go where the people of Russia tell me. But I shall remain with Russia and in Russia.

[Lapina] Our time is running out. At the end of our previous broadcasts, Ivan Stepanovich, you have always answered a personal question of some kind. May I ask you such a question today?

[Silayev] Please do.

[Lapina] As a result of the terrible events everybody, absolutely everybody—and that includes both heroes, anti-heroes and complete villains—has changed, has become different. Different people have, of course, changed in different ways. But is there anything common to all of them which has emerged since these terrible events, any special feature which will enable our society, in which falsehood, hypocrisy and brutality still prevail on the whole, to recover?

[Silayev] We have drummed things into each other so much and so often that, as a result, times have changed. People have changed; morality has vanished somewhere, it has been destroyed. People have become amoral. Patriotism is disappearing. But the events which took place, the reasons why the coup did not take place or, rather, did not succeed, are fresh evidence of great Russian qualities—nobility and devotion to the homeland. In all respects the Russian soul, the Russian image, has asserted itself once again. It has always been this way, it transpires. Had it not been for this situation and, of course, the difficulties and hardships of life, which make people callous, this would have been obvious. But, at the critical moment, the Russian people showed their Russian qualities again.

These events coincided with the holding of the congress of compatriots. The congress went ahead in spite of everything. We saw quite a few delegates from other countries, our Russian compatriots, Russians at the White House and around the White House, it has to be said. The soul of the Russian people is great. Its spiritual strength is great. It's a very fortunate thing that Russians are like this. They are noble. They are quick to extinguish bad developments. They remember good things for a very long time. If danger looms over the homeland, Russians show the full extent, the full splendor of their nobility.

[Lapina] Well, our air time has, unfortunately, run out. Today we had 10 minutes more than usual. But, as always, we find ourselves with too little air time. Goodbye until our next meeting.

[Silayev] Thank you, goodbye.

Popov Comments on CPSU Property in Moscow

OW3008211891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The mayor of Moscow, Mr. Gavriil Popov, announced at a press conference on Friday that the privatisation of housing in the capital will begin in the first ten days of September. Concerning the property of the CPSU in the city, Popov said that in his opinion they should become the property of the people if nationalised and not pass into the hands of individual organisations, as is being demanded by members of Moscow City Council and the Mayor's office.

He went on the say that if the Central Committee and the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU agreed to disband themselves the party workers would come under the article of Russian law on employees, made redundant as a result of the cessation of an organisation's activities, and as such would be entitled to receive benefits and compensation. In the event of these organisations not disbanding themselves, said Mr. Popov, they employees would in any case have to find new employment, but on an individual basis.

Bans DOSAAF, Cites Collaboration

OW3008204791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The mayor of Moscow, Mr. Gavriil Popov, has announced that bearing in mind the anti-constitutional collaboration of the leadership of the Moscow City Committee of the Voluntary Association for Cooperation with the Army, Air Force and Navy (known by its Russian initials, DOSAAF) with the putschists, he is suspending the activities of DOSAAF from 5 pm on 30th August until investigations into the organisation and its Moscow committee have been completed.

The head of the city's police, General Myrikov, has been ordered to seal and put under guard all the organisation's buildings and installations, to seize and put under guard arms and ammunition, radio stations and radio equipment, to seize and put under guard all motorised, aviation and other technology and to seal and put under guard all fuel and lubricant warehouses and DOSAAF shops.

The Moscow City Telephone Network has been ordered to cut off their phone lines and the Energy Committee to cut off the electricity supply to all DOSAAF buildings and other property from 5 pm on 30th August.

CEMA Secretariat To Vacate Rooms

LD3108051891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov has ordered the move of the Moscow town hall to the building of the former Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The document points out that the Council secretariat has a week to vacate all rooms which are occupied by the Soviet section.

Proposal Seeks Transfer of Capital to Leningrad

LD0109055491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 01 Sep 91

[Excerpt] The role of the city on the Neva in our renewed state [passage indistinct] according to reliable sources, is studying (?today) the possibility of the likely transformation of Leningrad into the capital of the Soviet Union. It is expected that when the study has been completed an appeal could be published addressed to the Union and RSFSR bodies of power, asking them to examine the idea of transferring the capital of the USSR from Moscow to St. Petersburg. [passage omitted]

Leningrad Mayor Views New Union Structures

LD0209192291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Studio interview with Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Aleksandhrovich Sobchak by reporter Mitkova from the "TV Inform" newscast—live]

[Text] [Mitkova] I do not think I need to introduce Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak to you. He is now in our studio. Anatoliy Aleksandrovich spent today at the congress. On this issue, I have some questions for you. We all realize that the Soviet Union no longer exists in the form it once was. In your opinion, what structures will replace the existing ones?

[Sobchak] Of course, there will be new structures of an interrepublican nature because the relationship between the center and the republics is changing fundamentally. The center is becoming secondary, its powers are delegated from the republics, and therefore, the structure also must be different. One can dispute the structures that have been proposed. A state council comprising only the supreme leaders of the republics cannot, in my view, be a body governing the country effectively and with prompt reaction. It should definitely have representatives from Union structures appointed by the president, and it should have representatives of say, the political forces, the political parties of an all-Union nature appointed by the president so that what is uniting us will also be represented in this body so that the president and say, the all-Union structures will not become a toy in the hands of the republican leadership. Because we also have common interests.

[Mitkova] You mentioned the president. What do you think will happen to Gorbachev?

[Sobchak] It will largely depend on the behavior of the president. I think the time of half measures, of hesitation has ended. Today the time demands decisive action. I think it will largely depend on what structures we arrive at. We have now announced a transitional period; that is, two or three months in the course of which we must, without permitting any further disintegration of the all-Union statehood, create new structures of power, already in the framework of the new union of sovereign states, and it is here that much will depend on what stuctures are created.

[Mitkova] It is a different...

[Sobchak, interrupting] In the transitional period I think Gorbachev continues to remain a symbol of Union statehood, and so proposals to remove him seem both unconstitutional and inexpedient in line with the existing realities.

[Mitkova] Will you, do you intend to announce your candidacy for the post of president of the USSR if elections take place?

[Sobchak] You have evidently confused me with Mr. Zhirinovskiy. It was he who decided that a presidential campaign is now on and has announced his candidacy. The fact is—that is, to talk about dividing up the skin of a bear before it is killed and about what does not yet exist—we do not even know if the future union of sovereign states will have a president or perhaps a version of some different kind of bodies. If a presidential campaign were declared today and it was known there would be such a president and he would be elected, I would say: Take this cup from me.

[Mitkova] Thank you very much, Anatoliy Aleksandrovich.

[Sobchak] You are welcome.

Poll Shows Sobchak Most Trusted in Federation

OW0309073991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0702 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the "DATA" news agency, on August 31- September 1 the National Public Opinion Studies Center took an opinion poll among 1,071 respondents from 12 cities of the Russian Federation. The question was: "Which of the Soviet political figures do you trust most?" The respondents were allowed to indicate no more than three names.

38%—Sobchak
25%—Khasbulatov
25%—Rutskoy
24%—Silayev
22%—Shevardnadze
17%—Bakatin
10%—Popov
10%—Yakovlev
4%—Kobets
3%—Volsky
Margin of error—3%

Stepankov, Shakhray Interviewed on Legal Issues

LD0109170191

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1852 GMT on 30 August carries a 33-minute interview with Valentin Stepankov, procurator general of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], and Sergey Shakhray, RSFSR state counselor on legal policy. The interview is conducted by commentator Sergey Suntsov in the studio. There is no indication whether the interview is live or recorded.

Stepankov said that Yeltsin had given assurances in his radio address that in the course of the investigation into the coup no citizen would be prosecuted without proper legal procedures' being observed. Stepankov added the RSFSR Procuracy is pursuing its investigations into the coup plotters within a proper legal framework. Gorbachev set up a state commission to investigate the KGB, which will report its recommendations. Regarding the archives, the Russian President has issued a decree. Everything will thus be conducted within strictly defined parameters. The Supreme Soviet has passed an amendment to the law on deputies' status following the controversy about searches.

Stepankov said: "As for the case that is being investigated in the Russian Procuracy, there are sufficient experienced and qualified investigators there. Supervision is being effected by procurators who are independent of this group of investigators. In Russia as a whole, criminal proceedings have been instituted in 15 cases—in the oblasts and krays. Specific actions are involved here, and not just dissenting views, not views that may have been expressed in support of the state committee or otherwise. We will not be penalizing anyone for that."

Shakhray said that on instructions from the RSFSR president, the RSFSR Council of Ministers has issued Special Directive No. 952 ensuring employment guarantees, benefits, and compensation as outlined in labor laws for people released from their work in party bodies as a result of the coup investigation.

Asked about the position of servicemen who came to the defense of the Russian parliament during the coup, Shakhray recalled that the Russian Supreme Soviet had adopted a special decision prohibiting any sort of proceedings against those who defended the constitutional order. The USSR president has confirmed the instruction from the RSFSR president on this issue.

An RSFSR law on social guarantees for servicemen and a law on alternatives to military service will be presented at the next session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, Shakhray said.

Stepankov said that in the course of the investigation into the Army's role in the coup plot, "our investigators are not ignoring facts or indications that commanders are attempting to retaliate against officers who either did not comply with orders or openly said at gatherings or meetings that a coup was under way and that there was an attempt to involve the army in the tackling of political matters, and so on. We are in possession of such indications, and in the course the investigation we will be taking steps against those commanders in order to restore justice here. Thus, additional guarantees will be assured for servicemen in the course of the investigation."

Referring to Yeltsin's suspension of the Russian Communist Party, Stepankov said: "We are often asked whether under the circumstances it was appropriate for us to go ahead and suspend its activities. In fact, the investigation has already received evidence that the president was indeed regrettably compelled to take such measures and that they have been effective. We have found confirmation that in these structures, despite the abolition of Article 6 of our constitution, the leading structures of the Russian Communist Party, and not, I repeat, rank-and-file communists, attempted to interfere in state activities in changing the state system, including in Russia. Although it may not be all that popular among the whole population, this measure taken by the president was justified and we are becoming convinced of that in the course of the investigation."

Shakhray said that the status of seized property has to be determined strictly in accordance with decrees and laws. Party property will go to the population and to labor collectives and be used to tackle social problems.

Stepankov said that USSR Prosecutor general has ended the parallel USSR and RSFSR investigation and passed the case on to the RSFSR Procuracy. There is one group of investigators now; it includes investigators from the original USSR Procuracy group and is headed by (Yevgeniy Kuzmich Lisev), RSFSR Deputy Procurator General, with Stepankov himself supervising the progress of the investigation. The group itself numbers over 50 investigators. The role of the KGB, Defense Ministry, Internal Affairs Ministry, the media, the Cabinet of Ministers, and the presidential structures in the coup attempt is being investigated. Fourteen arrests have already been made. The fourteen "have no privileges except for the high security in which they are kept." "We are according them neither favors nor harsh treatment." They have access to professional defense lawyers. Stepankov said that only the courts can establish who is guilty, and the Supreme Soviet commission should not try to rule on anyone's guilt or seek to usurp the investigators' functions: "I think that the purpose and function of the deputies' commission should be to determine the causes and circumstances of the involvement of the executive and legislative authorities and state structures in general, but to try to usurp the functions of the investigation, question the defendants, and demand some sort of documents in the case, and other things. Well, I think that the Union deputies will have enough common sense not to do that. If they do not, Russia has ways of ensuring the independence of the investigation and of the court proceedings."

Stepankov reiterated that no one will face criminal proceedings for their thoughts or actions favoring the committee. "Our aim is not to bring about mass terror."

Shakhray went on to explain plans to replace executive committees with administrations in RSFSR towns, rayons, krays, and oblasts, as laid down in the new Russian constitution. Elections for the heads of local administrations are to be held in November, "or perhaps a little earlier, if parliament so decides". On 21 August, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet authorized the president to appoint heads of administrations in krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs. Shakhray explained that the presidential representative's job will be to ensure cooperation between presidential authority and local executive bodies.

Stepankov said that now that the "vertical" system of party administration has gone, there is a real chance of an effective reorganization of local authority.

CMNE Not To Become 'National Government'

OW3108175491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The vice-mayor of Moscow, Mr. Yuri Luzhkov, has said in his exclusive interview for IF [INTERFAX] that the Committee for the Management of the National Economy (CMNE) will not be turned into a national government. He said all the members of this provisional body have agreed that they will not claim posts in the future government.

According to Mr. Luzhkov, the new government should be structurally different from the former Cabinet. "Considering the republics' declarations of independence and thirst for greater economic sovereignty, we should set up a body that would only coordinate economic links between republics, industries and, if need be, between separate enterprises, including private ones. This body should be a priori non-administrative," Y. Luzhkov said.

He stressed the point that the CMNE should operate for a brief period of time, helping to form a stable government and tackling the most urgent economic problems. "We expect to stay in office for 2-3 weeks at the longest, and then each of us will return to his direct duties," Mr. Luzhkov said.

Explosive Devices Found in Moscow Train

LD0109014191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2105 GMT 31 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Terrorism from Azerbaijan is already making itself felt in the capital. The Moscow police are conducting an investigation at the carriage repair works. Three homemade explosive devices have been found there on board a carriage from Azerbaijan.

Defense Minister on Nuclear Weapons Control

LD2908143791 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Interview with General Konstantin Kobets, Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic defense minister, by correspondent Mark Urban in Moscow on 28 August on the "Newsnight" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kobets] In our opinion it must be a committee of the Defense Ministry that will unite all the representatives, or ministers of defense, of all the republics, giving them equal rights—thus resolving this question. The main issue is that we should keep centralized control of our strategic nuclear forces and not divide them up among the republics. [passage omitted]

I think that nuclear forces will remain centralized for a long time. For the moment, all republics will agree to this and, of course, they will control them—meaning civil control. This should prevent any use without permission. [passage omitted]

At the same time, the only political use of military forces will be in the defense of their native land. They must not be influenced by any party, neither the Communists nor Democratic Russia. They have only one objective; that is, to defend their country. In the future, political workers involved in training must dedicate their time to this problem. I think that the best professionals will get the job—if, of course, they pass their exams.

Volunteers Join Russian National Guard

LD0209134491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Around 3,000 people from all parts of Russia have applied during the past two weeks to join the Russian National Guard. The Shchit [shield] union for social protection of servicemen and members of their families is in charge of registering the volunteers. According to Igor Golubev, the Union chairman's aide, the age limit is 35 for rank and file men, 45 for junior officers, and 55 for senior officers. Recruitment to the guard will be competition-based, and approximately one of every nine applicants will become a member, while the rest of the volunteers will form the reserve. Those who have passed the examination will be asked to sign a contract.

Guarantees to Dismissed Party Members Offered

OW3008220891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation has issued an instruction concerning workers relieved of their duties as a result of the decision to suspend the activities of the Soviet and Russian Communist Parties. The document says that work contracts may be terminated on the basis of the RSFSR Employment Code and existing legislation.

Sacked party functionaries will be guaranteed new jobs, as well as benefits and compensations envisaged under the law. Payments will be made from local budgets; they will later be compensated for from the budgets of the CPSU and the Communist Party of Russia.

Until their work contracts expire, but for no longer than 30 days after the publishing of President Yeltsin's decree, party workers will be entitled to received their average wages.

Church Appeals Against Anti-Party Revenge

LD0109021191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1249 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 31 (TASS)—In its appeal to believers, the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church has expressed hope that the events taking place in the country will put an end to a difficult period in its history and open up a new page.

Each one of us, says the appeal, could present a claim against the former ruling party and state circles for the unparalleled sufferings we and others have suffered over the past 73 years. But let the justice that is being carried out not serve as a pretext for Satanic seeds of malice and bitterness to take root in our hearts. May there be a transformation of our minds, and may they be freed from the totalitarian kind of consciousness that has made millions of people participate in lawlessness, whether willingly or not.

A new page is also opening in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church, but one must not think that the path ahead will be an easy one to follow. Our path will have to function amid the bitter inheritance left to it from former rulers. True to its centuries-long tradition, our church will resurrect in the people the piety and holiness they had forgotten and will help save the fatherland, the appeal says.

The Holy Synod declared its full agreement with the actions of Aleskiy II, patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, on August 19-21, and the request he made at that time to support the Constitution and law and order, and on the inadmissibility of shedding fraternal blood.

Democratic Party of Communists of Russia Formed

LD3008183191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1755 GMT 30 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozmin]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—Another party was registered today at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Ministry of Justice: the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia [DPCR]. This was announced today by Vasiliy Lipitskiy, chairman of this party's board, at a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists. He reported that this is the 283d public association to be registered in the Russian Federation. [passage omitted]

"The CPSU is leaving the stage of history, and the attempted coup that was thwarted by the people has hastened its collapse, which had already begun earlier," said the chairman of the board of the DPCR. "We shall not be the continuators of the CPSU cause or a new form of its existence, and we are ready to accept into our ranks honest Communists who have not discredited themselves by conniving with the junta and participating in the CPSU's reactionary wing.

According to the chairman, the party intends to operate "in a system of parliamentary democracy" and in league with other democratic forces "to consistently and persistently strive to achieve the renewal of our society on the principles of freedom, solidarity, and justice".

Vasiliy Lipitskiy also reported that at the DPCR congress, which is planned for October this year, the members of the board intend to propose renaming the party the Party of Free Russia.

Replying to a question about CPSU property, the DPCR board chairman said they do not intend to lay any claims on it and consider that it could be used "to finance the development of a multiparty system".

Regarding questions of relations between the DPCR and the leadership of the USSR, Vasiliy Lipitskiy said that they "are ready to offer support to Mikhail Gorbachev" until such time as he implements genuinely democratic reforms in the country.

'600 Seconds' Program Suspended, Not Canceled

LD0109042691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] We are receiving many questions in connection with the closing of the popular Leningrad television program "600 Seconds." As the SEVERO-ZAPAD AGENCY reports, the program has not been canceled; only its activities have been suspended, because the NTK-600 company is completely independent of Leningrad television and has still not concluded an agreement with the television which regulates the financial and legal cooperation between NTK-600 and Leningrad television.

Leningrad television and radio chairman Petrov has reported that the program will be broadcast as soon as an agreement is concluded, a condition of which will be that Nevzorov himself will be legally responsible for the contents of "600 Seconds."

IZVESTIYA Comments

PM0309124991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 91 Union Edition p 8

[Report by V. Reshetnikov: "Why They Closed '600 Seconds'"]

[Text] Aleksandr Nevzorov's program "600 Seconds" was taken off the air 28 August for an indefinite period.

In a conversation with me, program director Viktor Matalytskiy called the explanations given by the Leningrad Television leadership "very vague." According to him, it was a verbal instruction from Boris Petrov, the head of Leningrad Television and Radio, whose only explanation was that the program had been closed "pending a specific ruling." What that means Viktor Matalytskiy would not explain. Program editor Lyudmila Shchukina expressed surprise that "600 Seconds" airtime on 28 August had been given to Leningrad Oblast Party Committee First Secretary Boris Gidaspov to plead noninvolvement with the State Committee for the State of Emergency. According to her, in taking the program off the air, Boris Petrov was quick to demonstrate his respect for Yegor Yakovlev, the new USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, whose attitude toward Nevzorov is well known.

Unfortunately, I was unable to contact the Leningrad Television leaders because they were busy with important administrative matters. Yevgeniy Isayev, the deputy director of programs, sought to explain the situation. The Leningrad Television and Radio chairman, he said, has repeatedly told "600 Seconds" that as an independent television company, they should conclude a new contract. The company had not done that, so it was taken off the air. It is my principled position, Yevgeniy Isayev added, that no program can be taken off the air if it has been planned in advance. If the program has been taken off the air, however, then the announcer should at least explain why.

Chief Editor Squanders Funds; Newspaper Closes

PM3008135091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Single Edition p 4

[A. Grachev report: "Editor With His Hand in the Till"]

[Text] Nalchik—Scandalous news in the North Caucasus left readers and admirers of the "independent" newspaper VERSIYA [STORY] shocked when they learned the true colors of its editor A. Beslaneyev. If only they

had known—they who supported the newspaper materially from their own meager pensions and wages—on what their rubles [R] were being spent.

When the first issues of the newspaper came out and the editor saw how weighty the cash box became through voluntary donations, he immediately wanted to be not just editor but chief editor—even though the collective members can be counted on the fingers of one hand. They tried to reason with him but in vain. He issued an order appointing himself chief editor with a salary of R1,500. Then—again on his own order—he also appointed himself first deputy chief editor, adding a further R1,400 to his salary.

With such a wage under his belt, he got the urge to become president of some kind or other—it did not matter what, he just wanted the name. So, helping himself to a large sum of money from the editorial cash box, he flew to Moscow. He returned as president of some commercial fund or other, and even brought back the documents to prove it. He made his newspaper the bait for acquiring money from the trusting readership and wealthy underground sponsors, who fattened the newspaper coffers very well. You know, outwardly this was a respectable publication comprising eight pages and a subtitle forcefully proclaimed: "Russian Independent Newspaper." Worth reading!

Thanks to articles from unverified sources and "facts" which at times were pure fabrication and provoked unhealthy uproar, its circulation rose. And money poured into the cash box.

The editor's needs began to increase steadily. He made no note of how he squandered R25,000 and kept no records of it. He could only resort to machinations, but even this could not cover his soaring expenses.

In just the first year of VERSIYA's existence, the editor took R63,000 from the editorial cash box. He had no intentions, however, of repaying the debt, preferring to concentrate on his new duties. He often travels to Moscow—not empty-handed, naturally—and returns with renewed inspiration. As a result, he collected many posts for himself: chief editor, first deputy, president, driver of his own car—all in parallel—founder, manager, director-general of the "Kavkas" Commercial Information and Publishing Center.

Surely he qualifies for the Guinness Book of Records!

Apart from that, he acquired a passionate liking for his own property. At the editorial office's expense, he started to buy and appropriate all kinds of real estate. The collective lost its patience and rebelled against their leader: At a general meeting, the collective expressed no confidence in him. And the editor began getting rid of his colleagues.

The result of Beslaneyev's outrageous activity is as follows: All printing houses in Kabardino-Balkariya have refused to print VERSIYA. The editor printed the last issue outside the republic: It took the form of a funeral pamphlet with its own confession on the first page under the heading: "I am dead tired."

The whole thing was reported honestly on the pages of KABARDINO-BALKARSKAYA PRAVDA by former VERSIYA employee G. Sandarov in a satirical piece entitled "Trickster From the Press."

Incidentally, I also reported on VERSIYA's sensationalist tendencies in PRAVDA in March this year. I predicted that such a publication would not last, and everything turned out as expected.

Journalists Union Complain About Dismissals

LD3008183491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0600 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Union of Journalists addressed an appeal to the RSFSR president, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Russia, and the republic's procurator general. It says that according to alarming reports coming in from republics and oblasts in the Russian Federation, there have been instances of the dismissal of journalists for political reasons during the reorganization of the local press. Haste is being displayed when deciding the fate of press organs. In this connection, the executive committee of the republic's Union of Journalists requests that instructions be given to the localities about the need for the strict observance of legality in relation to every press employee and the displaying of the maximum attention and objectivity in their future professional use.

Democrats Condemn Mordova Parliament Session

LD0109131591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 1 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Democrats have assessed the legislature session of the Mordovan Republic as zero, amoral, and disgraceful. The Democratic Russia faction demanded that the Presidium should resign and the legislature, which had taken a wait-and-see position during the putsch, should disband itself. The top leaders who had, as they now claim, lost telegrams the White House sent to them on 19 and 20 August, were named at the session. Nevertheless, the session brought victory to the majority who expressed confidence in the Presidium.

Political Hunger Strike Continues in Stavropol

LD0109135191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1031 GMT 1 Sep 91

[by TASS correspondent N. Styazhkin]

[Text] Stavropol, 1 Sep (TASS)—A group of 16 inhabitants of Stavropol who went on a political hunger strike a week ago with a most important demand—the urgent convening of a session of the kray soviet of the people's

deputies to assess the actions of the kray bodies of management during the coup—have decided to continue the hunger strike after the session that took place yesterday. The proposal they put forward for the resignation of the presidium of the kray soviet, of the chairman of the kray soviet, and of the chairman of the kray executive committee did not receive a majority of votes at the session.

Three deputies of the kray soviet, representatives of the faction "Democratic Russia," are among the participants of the hunger strike. The need for a cadre reshuffle in the leadership of the kray, in their opinion, results from the fact that although during the putsch the presidium of the kray soviet did speak in favor of unconditional accord with the USSR and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] constitutions and demanded that USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev should speak to the people without delay or that reliable information on his health be published, it did not express a clear condemnation of the state committee on the state of emergency.

The activists of "Democratic Russia" have sent to Moscow proof of their positions as well as an appeal to RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin to appoint an administrative head for the Stavropol kray.

Such a view did not gain the support of the majority of the rural rayon soviets of people's deputies.

The participants in the political hunger strike have set up a tent camp in the central square of Stavropol and they have collected more than 8,000 signatures of the inhabitants, who agree with the need for changes in the leadership of the kray.

N. Ossetian Parliament Condemns Coup

LD0109035691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1744 GMT 31 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 31 Aug (TASS)—The Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia, one of the Soviet republics in the Caucasus, convened in extraordinary session here today. The republic's parliamentarians debated a motion "on the work of the republican bodies of power and administration during the period of the coup d'etat, from August 19 to 22." The session resolved to condemn the anti-constitutional coup, to note that the multi-ethnic-national people of North Ossetia had not supported the putsch and displayed loyalty to the existing constitutional order, and to approve of the decisive action by the president of the RSFSR, Supreme Soviet Presidium and Government of the RSFSR to uphold the constitutional order. It was noted that the leadership had displayed insufficient decisiveness in assessing the anti-constitutional acts of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency], however no specific moves to implement the committee's instructions had been made within the republic. The action taken by the republic's bodies of power and administration had been aimed at maintaining a stable situation, ensuring the safety of citizens, and maintaining the normal functioning of industry and the economy.

Also today, a rally was held by democratic forces in the republican capital. The participants adopted a resolution declaring that the North Ossetian leadership had supported the so-called SCSE and failed to implement the decree by the president of the RSFSR. They demanded that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the government of North Ossetia resign, and also that the editors of republican newspapers and the chairman of the North Ossetia State Committee for Television and Radio be relieved of their posts.

Karbino-Balkar Government Resignation Noted

LD3108061691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0530 GMT 31 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] TASS reports that Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic is without a government [vlast]. After the attempted coup d'etat, under pressure from the democratic forces, the president has resigned, the entire body of deputies has been dissolved, and all the leaders of the republic have gone.

Groznyy Protesters Demand Legislature's Ouster

LD3108043591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1245 GMT 30 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, Aug 30 (TASS)—Rallies of thousands and street marches have been going on for eight days in the Chechen-Ingush Republic, but the leadership of the Republic is still turning a deaf ear to the demands of the population. On Thursday at a session of parliament the majority confirmed a vote of confidence in Dok Zavgayev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic, and his two deputies. At the same time it accepted immediately the resignation of all the other members of the presidium. The reaction of the population was not long in coming: the wave of rallies that had died down in expectation of radical decisions by the parliament flared up again today with a new force.

More and more delegations from other towns and villages of the Republic keep arriving in Groznyy. The feeble attempts by some of the body of deputies to persuade the leaders of the democratic forces to stop the demonstrations have had no success. Dzhakhar Dudayev, who heads the executive committee of the pan-national Congress of the Chechen people, stressed in a conversation with members of parliament, that the Supreme Soviet of the Republic should have fought during the unsuccessful coup with the same firmness for the power given by the people. This was not done, he

said, and thus the parliament has lost the moral right to express the people's interests.

The rallies continue to block the building of the parliament and government of the Chechen-Ingush Republic. The whole center of the town is closed to traffic.

Khasbulatov Appeals for Calm

LD3108115791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1011 GMT 31 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 31 Aug (TASS)—Ruslan Khasbulatov, leader of Russian legislature, has appealed to the citizens of the Chechen- Ingush republic in the North Caucasus, the people of his home region and his electors, to renounce rallies and strikes and resolve urgent problems in a calm atmosphere, using only constitutional means.

At the session of the Chechen-Ingush Supreme Soviet yesterday, deputies applauded this appeal.

For nine days now there have been rallies in the republic demanding the immediate resignation of its leadership. In Groznyy thousands of people are continuing to blockade the building housing the republic's parliament and government. Barricades have been erected on the close approaches to the center using buses, trolley cars, automobiles, and anything available. The participants in the rallies are being actively supported by many work collectives and bodies of executive authority in some towns and villages of the republic.

In these emergency conditions the vacuum of power that has come about is to some extent being filled by the executive committee of the National Congress of the Chechen People, around which all democratic forces have united. Tomorrow it will continue its work which was interrupted in June. A proposal has been made to the Ingush people also that it hold its own congress to determine the future of the republic.

Democrats Picket Government Building

OW3108155791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The unauthorized rally outside the Council of Ministers building in Chechen-Ingush's capital Groznyy continued throughout Friday. Nearly 6,000 people insisted on the resignation of the republic's Supreme Soviet which they accused of having supported the recent putsch. Volunteers enrolled into the national guard during the rally. One day earlier, activists stopped nearly 30 buses, bid the passengers out, and used the buses' gas in making petrol bombs to defend themselves against the authorities' likely attempt to clear the square by force.

Supreme Soviet's Resignation Demanded

LD0109013991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2105 GMT 31 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] In Chechen-Ingush, the republic's Supreme Soviet is meeting in continuous session. The demonstration outside the Parliament is in it 10th day. The demonstrators are demanding the resignation of the Supreme Soviet, above all its chairman, Zavgayev. The demonstrators accuse him of supporting the putsch and say he should no longer wield power. We received this information from the press center of the Chechen National Congress. [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic]

More on Resignation

PM0209124391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[By A. Kazikhanov under the "Seven Days On" rubric: "Rally Lasting Six Days"]

[Text] Rallies and street marches are continuing for the sixth day in the city of Groznyy, capital of the Chechen-Ingush Republic. The buildings of the KGB and the House of Soviets have been blockaded. The monument to Lenin has been dismantled.

On 19 August, thousands of residents of Groznyy and villages gathered in the central square following an appeal by the Veinakh Democratic Party, the Chechen Congress Executive Committee, and the republic's green movement to protest the putsch that had occurred. During the rally, Z. Yandarbiyev, leader of the Veinakh Democratic Party, was detained by the law enforcement organs. Even though on 20 August the Chechen-Ingush Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium during an emergency session rejected the putschists' proposal to create a similar illegal committee in the republic, the democratic movements viewed the arrest of Z. Yandarbiyev as a display of the local authorities' support for the junta's decrees.

Rallies were held in Groznyy on 24 August. A crowd blockaded the buildings of the KGB and the House of Soviets, over which the tricolor banner of the Chechen Congress had been raised instead of the flag of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. The rally participants demanded the government's resignation, the dissolution of parliament, the introduction of the post of president of the republic, and the transfer of power during a transitional period to the Chechen Congress Executive Committee, which they consider the sole legitimate power in the Chechen-Ingush Republic.

An extraordinary session of the Chechen-Ingush Republic Supreme Soviet continued until midnight 25 August. The session decided to institute the post of president of the Chechen-Ingush Republic. The rally in Groznyy's central square is continuing.

Situation 'Very Alarming'

PM0109214591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 91 Single Edition p 2

[By correspondent A. Grachev under "Hot Spot" rubric: "Storm Thunders Over Groznyy"]

[Text] Groznyy—The situation in the capital of Chechen-Ingush is very alarming. A large rally involving thousands of people is now in its 10th day here. People are remaining in the city's main square day and night.

They are demanding the resignation of the Supreme Soviet, its Presidium, and the republic's government. Rally participants have blockaded the Council of Ministers and Supreme Soviet building and the airport and have taken control of television, radio, the telephone exchange, and some administrative buildings. There have been threats that railroad traffic will be stopped. Almost all the militia have left the government's jurisdiction.

D. Zavgayev, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, passed this comment on the situation:

"Forces have been roused that have no thought for improving the lives of the people or for stabilizing the situation within the republic. They want to satisfy their own ambitious plans, rouse and kindle passions riding a democratic wave, and thus gain cheap popularity. Their ultimate aim is to seize power. Such is the price of this irresponsible, dangerous spectacle; it may have very sorry consequences. We are doing everything we can to prevent a tragedy..."

A. Aslakhanov, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Committee for Legality, Law, and Order, and the Fight Against Crime, holds another opinion:

"In my view, there is a way out. The chairman of the Supreme Soviet must resign his powers and Presidium members must be 'sieved out' by a vote of confidence—by secret ballot, moreover. Given the fact that the legislature has worked badly, deputies, like Presidium members, must consider the question of self-dissolution to prevent clashes between citizens and the organs of state administration. There is also a second option: to hold a referendum on the dissolution of the current Supreme Soviet at the same time as the presidential election—with one absolute condition—that the chairman resign. I would like to believe that the people will stop the rallies if he resigns..."

"In the prevailing situation," Zh. Gakayev, chairman of the Chechen-Ingush Movement for Democratic Reforms Organizational Committee, believes, "the Supreme Soviet, its Presidium, and the government must resign. New elections of deputies and president by universal, direct, and secret ballot must be scheduled within a very short period. We oppose anarchy and acts of vandalism. We urge all political parties and movements to come to a 'roundtable,' discuss the accumulated problems, and form structures of power with the people's confidence..."

The disturbances in the city have rocked the entire republic. Yesterday transportation workers halted buses and trolleys in the city and on its approaches, and some collectives have gone out on strike. The storm clouds are gathering and the confrontation is increasing. I pray to God and all the saints that the storm of people's discontent looming over the city will abate and become a beneficial cleansing "rain" of peace, prudence, and civil accord.

Congress of Chechen People Opens

LD0109223991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1454 GMT 1 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 1 Sep (TASS)—A nationwide congress of the Chechen people is taking place here today under an extraordinary situation. Delegates are discussing the sociopolitical situation in Chechen-Ingush which has recently deteriorated sharply.

As reported, there have been 10 days of mass rallies calling for the immediate resignation of the leadership which is accused of attempting to cooperate with the plotters. The center of town looks like a fortress under siege. All approaches to the republic's parliament and government buildings are barricaded by buses, trolleys, other equipment, and concrete blocks.

The official authorities are virtually paralyzed. None of their attempts to reach a compromise with the protesters are proving successful. The confrontation between the people and the authorities has been aggravated by the fact that people are divided by familiy and clan allegiances.

A draft resolution in congress proposes that the demonstrators should not abandon their demands. Representaitves of the Ingush people and the official authorities of certain towns and villages in Chechen-Ingush have stated their support for the permanent executive committee of the Chechen Congress around which all democratic forces have united.

Supreme Soviet Dissolved After Protests

LD0109224891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2122 GMT 1 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service' program]

[Text] Chechen-Ingush—Today, on the 12th day of demonstrations and rallies involving thousands, the national congress heeded the demands of its people and dissolved the Supreme Soviet, which in effect had supported the junta. The congress decided to form an interim republican committee to draft laws for changes in legislative power and to hold elections for president of the republic. We received the news and video material an

hour ago from the press center of the Executive Commitee of Chechen-Ingush deputies.

[Video shows man in crowd speaking] We do not want to be led by this partocracy that has shamed us. That's all there is to it.

Warning Issued to Demonstrators

LD0209133191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1100 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] A TASS correspondent reports from Groznyy: The Procurator's Office of Chechen-Ingush has demanded that the organizers of a thousands-strong meeting that is taking place here for the 11th day to stop immediately their unlawful actions, withdraw from all occupied premises, and clear the streets and roads in the town. The statement from the Procurator's Office states that the actions of the Internal Affair's bodies, which are being carried out within the framework of the powers entrusted to them and are directed to ensuring public order, are lawful.

Commenting on this document, the procurator stressed that the meeting's participants have not yet passed the point of no return, following which punishment is inevitable. They also have the chance to halt voluntarily their illegal actions without any judicial consequences. But judging by all the facts, the people who have come out into the streets and squares of Groznyy, demanding the immediate resignation of the whole republican leadership, are determined to stay to the end. The congress of the Chechen people which ended yesterday also called urged them to do this.

'Activists' Seize Parliament Building

LD0209224491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Yesterday, armed self-defense units set up by activists of the Chechen Congress Movement seized the buildings of the republican Council of Ministers and legislature, hoisting the green flag of Islam over them. In the view of several local journalists, the events occurring in Chechen-Ingush have been provoked by nationalist pro-Islamic activists in the movement who are opposed to joining and being subordinate to both Union and Russian authorities.

Demonstrations Held For, Against Tatar President

OW3008153191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As Tatarstan's parliament continued its session on Thursday, demonstrations were staged in Kazan in support of the republic's president as well as in support of the Russian Federation authorities. The Tatar Public Center (TPC) organized pickets joined by some 1000 people to back President Minister Shaymiyev. Nevertheless his stand taken during the recent abortive coup has been broadly condemned. The same day an authorized meeting took place in front of the Musa Jalil Theater. Organized by the Democratic Party of Russia, it gathered some 300 people who expressed support for the parliament and President of the Russian Federation.

The followers of the TPC tried to prevent the meeting from being held, but the police ensured law and order.

Tatar Supreme Soviet Operates Without Opposition

OW3108023891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Tatarstan Supreme Soviet has supported the position of the republic's leadership during the recent coup d'etat. In the absence of the democratic opposition group in Parliament, the deputies approved the speeches of Tatar President Mintimer Shaymiyev, Prime Minister Muhammad Sabirov and Supreme Soviet President Farid Muhamedshin, who said that a state of emergency had not been introduced in Tatarstan, nor had the republic supported the SEC [State of Emergency Committee] or introduced censorship.

The "People's Power" group walked out of the chamber after the defeat of their proposal that the president of the Supreme Soviet should vacate the president's chair until the facts of his activities during the coup had been explained.

The state adviser to the Russian President, Sergey Shakral, said at the Supreme Soviet session that the Russian leadership did have certain questions for Tatarstan, but whilst investigations into the activities of the SEC were proceeding no accusations could be made.

Unaware of the USSR Supreme Soviet's decision to suspend the activities of the CPSU, the Tatar Supreme Soviet abrogated the decision by the Kazan City Soviet to seal all buildings belonging to the CPSU Republican Committee.

On Friday the "People's Power" parliamentary group joined forces with the representatives of human rights groups and suggested abiding by the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and keeping the Communist Party buildings sealed.

CPSU-Funded Distillery Found in Tatarstan

LD0109002191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2105 GMT 31 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Secret installations are being unearthed in Tatarstan by a government commission investigating CPSU assets. The most interesting find so far is a distillery in the Vysokaya Gora District. It was shut down during the

anti-alcohol campaign. Subsequently, as it now transpires, the distillery was quietly reopened under the auspices of a small enterprise operated by the local committee of the CPSU. Almost 400,000 rubles of party funds were allocated to it.

'Democratic Buryatiya' Seeks Yeltsin's Support

LD3108042291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1231 GMT 30 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Troimov]

[Text] Ulan-Ude, 30 Aug (TASS)—The "Democratic Buryatiya" Movement has announced its intention of sending a delegation to Russian President Boris Yeltsin to get his support for the struggle against putsch supporters in Buryatiya. Activists held a protest at the government house and put out an urn to collect voluntary financial contributions. The democrats intend to use this money to send their representatives to Moscow.

An appeal by "Democratic Buryatiya" to fellow citizens of the republic disseminated today, says: "The Supreme Soviet of the republic no longer expresses the will of the people, and leaders of the local junta have remained in their seats. This is why we want to appeal to the president of Russia for help and deliver to Boris Yeltsin the resolution of the rallies." "Help to destroy the bulwark of totalitarianism in the republic," says the document.

Today the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Buryatiya adopted a decree on the convening of yet another extraordinary session. It is proposed that parliament discuss the question of confidence with Vladimir Saganov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Buryatiya.

Buryatia Blames CPSU for Ethnic Problems

OW0209155391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1444 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Buryat-Mongol Party and the Buryat chapter of the Democratic Party of Russia have issued a joint statement in Ulan-Ude saying that "Buryatia's ethnic problems are a result of Bolshevik totalitarian rule." The authors announce their determination to restore the republic's borders as they were until 1937 when a number of regions and districts were alienated from Buryatia.

The two parties say they will work in that direction by concluding an appropriate treaty with Russia. They favor restoring the old Mongolian alphabet and returning Buddhist temples to the believers.

Poland Welcomes Ukraine, Belorussian Independence

LD3108153391 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 31 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Warsaw August 31 TASS—A statement of the Polish Sejm was read at its session today under the accompaniment of applause and exclamations of approval. The statement welcomed the proclamation of independence by the Ukraine and Belorussia.

Legislators from the lower chamber of the Polish parliament adopted a resolution stressing that Poland, for which its freedom and independence are supreme values, fully approves the history- making decisions of the Ukrainian and Belorussian parliaments. They are in line with the striving of the two nations for self- determination, for pursuing their own home and foreign policy, the resolution said. The Sejm expressed confidence that the independent Ukraine and Belorussia would continue to implement democratic reforms, creating in this way proper conditions for the development of goodneighbourly relations with Poland.

Belorussia

Legislator Opposes RSFSR Territorial Claims

LD3008232191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0730 GMT 30 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kryzhanovskiy]

[Text] Minsk, 30 August (TASS)—"The treaty between Belorussia and Russia signed last year has been ratified by both, Belorussian and Russian, parliaments", Dmitriy Bulakhov, chairman of the permanent commission for legislation of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, stressed commenting on a recent statement by Pavel Voshchanov, press secretary of the Russian president, on possible territorial claims of Russia to some republics. "The main principle of this document," Bulakhov said, "is that the Belorussian republic recognizes Russia as a sovereign state and Russia, in its turn, recognizes Belorussia as a sovereign state with all attendant legal consequences".

Moreover, he continued, both sides clearly stated in the treaty that they recognize the borders of each other, which existed at the moment of its signing. As for its juridical force, the treaty is made up with the observation of all international-legal requirements and, as it states, is to be registered at the United Nations, that is it is brought to the notice of international public.

According to Dmitriy Bulakhov, the statement by the press secretary of the Russian president was dictated by the changed political correlation of forces, but it is politically absurd. If the new "center" wants to deal with republics, and Belorussia, of course, is interested in a union with Russia, then dialogue is not possible from the position of force but from the position of good- neighbourliness, peace, and friendship.

"We do not want to be younger brothers," Dmitriy Bulakhov stated. "In the new union all should be legally equal: one republic—one voice in resolving problems. This is another matter that the political influence of Russia, perhaps, will be great".

Democrats 'Concerned' Over Border Issue

PM3008143991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Mikhail Shimanskiy report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Belorussia Against Revision of Borders"]

[Text] Minsk—Even Belorussia, which is extremely interested in the Union treaty, is very concerned these days about the Russian leadership's statements on the possibility of revising borders.

The Council of the United Democratic Party of Belorussia has approved a statement to the Russian Government in this connection. We admire the Russians' courage in the struggle against the putschists and against communist tyranny, the document states. We believe that talks on the revision of the existing borders will not lead to a change in them but will merely harm national relations between the indigenous and the Russian population of states bordering on Russia. We will all be wise to agree with the existing borders. There is enough work for everyone in our godforsaken lands; and in Russia more than anywhere. The statement expresses hope in the nobility, wisdom, and responsibility of Russia's leadership at this difficult time.

Military Commander Supports National Guard

OW3008223891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Col-Gen. Anatoliy Kostenko, commander of the Belorussian Military District, told IF [INTERFAX] on Friday that Belorussia could, in his view, have a national guard of its own. "Until recently debate over reforming the armed forces were rather timid. Today it is clear that a sweeping reform—not a set of half-measures—is a 'must,'" the general said, and added that work in that direction has a already under way in other republics.

According to A. Kostenko, a national guard can well coexist with the national armed forces. The army would defend the country's external borders and the national guard would protect the republic's sovereignty, enforce law and order, guard strategic installations, and help the repulic eliminate the afermath of natural calamities and fulfill various economic tasks.

The general said the national guard problem needs to be comprehensively studied before it is translated into a reality.

Ukraine

Treaty With Belorussia Comes Into Force

LD3108135791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1252 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Kiev, 31 Aug (UKRINFORM-TASS)—The treaty between the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, signed in Minsk on 29 December 1990, has come into force. The document is based on the republics' declarations of state sovereignty. Today Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko and Belorussian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko exchanged articles of ratification of the treaty by the two republics' highest legislative bodies.

Kravchuk Addresses Diplomats on Sovereignty

LD3008210291 Moscow TASS in English 2020 GMT 30 Aug 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Grigoryev]

[Text] Kiev August 30 TASS—"During the coup, I intended to appeal to the U.N. Security Council," Leonid Kravchuk, Ukrainian parliamentary leader, told heads of general consulates of foreign countries in Kiev on Friday.

The coup in the Soviet Union between August 19-21 has not changed the republic's life, Kravchuk said. "We simply did not obey the centre's orders. Had the Ukraine's sovereignty been threatened—I mean if the troops had been brought into the republic—I would immediately have appealed to the U.N. Security council in order that the world community react to the aggression," Kravchuk said.

"Our major task now is to move forward to promote the Ukraine's sovereignty. The declaration of the Ukraine's independence serves this purpose," Kravchuk said.

He urged foreign states to express their opinions on the declaration.

The Ukraine and Russia have agreed to call on the former Soviet republics to work out and sign an economic agreement. The Ukraine hopes for economic support of foreign countries, primarily of Western Europe and the United States.

The Ukraine should have all signs of statehood and become a real and equal member of the United Nations, Kravchuk said.

Kravchuk Invites Republic Leaders to Talks

AU2908153291 Paris AFP in English 1459 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Moscow, Aug 29 (AFP)—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk on Thursday invited the leaders of the other 14 Soviet republics to meet with him in Kiev without Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to discuss setting up an economic community.

Speaking at a news conference in the Ukrainian capital, Kravchuk said: "The Soviet Union as it used to be has ceased to exist. We are creating temporary state structures that tackle all problems of the military, the economy and the state."

Noting that economic issues were of "prime importance," Kravchuk added, "We intend to convene immediately with all republics without the center."

His comments were quoted by a local journalist, contacted by telephone. [passage omitted]

Decrees Ban Party, Protect Foreign Investment

LD3108203591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1550 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Kiev, 31 Aug (UKRINFORM-TASS)—On Friday the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine adopted a decree banning the activity of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. This decision is based upon the conclusions of the Presidium's interim commission checking out the activities on the territory of the Ukraine of officials of bodies of power, public associations, and organizations in connection with the state coup.

At the presidium session matters were examined relating to the transfer to Ukrainian ownership of enterprises, organizations, and establishments under Union jurisdiction located on the territory of the Ukraine; the distribution of financial resources and debts between the Ukraine and the USSR; and to the transfer of the functions of the Ukrbank of the USSR Vneshekonombank [foreign economic bank] to the National Bank of the Ukraine.

With the aim of attracting foreign investments, the Presidium adopted a resolution on protecting these in the Ukraine: this proclaimed that the investments, profits, legal rights, and interests of foreign investors on the territory of the Ukraine are protected by the laws of the Ukraine. The Presidium adopted decrees on putting under the control of the Ukraine the border troops and also the internal troops stationed on its territory. Appropriate resolutions were ratified on a number of other matters of the state life of the Republic.

Further on Ban

LD3108205591 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine has now been working continuously for almost one week, tackling the pressing issues of development and practical consolidation of the proclamation of independence of Ukraine. Its regular sitting took place on 30 August. It has been decided to submit the draft laws on destatization of property, on commodity exchanges, currency funds, reform of salaries, on a Ministry of Defense, and

the mass media for examination by the session of the Supreme Soviet, which starts on 3 September, in addition to those which were already mentioned in the previous reports. The draft law on alterations and additions to the Constitution, the main law of Ukraine which has its goal in consolidating acts approved by the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, will also be submitted for examination by the session. The resolution has been approved on transferring enterprises, organizations, and institutions subordinate to the union, which are situated on the territory of Ukraine, to its posession; on dividing financial resources and debts between Ukraine and the USSR; and on handing over the functions of Ukrainian Bank of the USSR External Economic Bank to the National Bank of Ukraine. With the purpose of attracting foreign investments, the Presidium approved a resolution on their protection in Ukraine, in which it proclaimed as Paragraph 1 the fact that investments, profits, and legitimate rights and interests of foreign investors on the territory of Ukraine are protected by its laws. At the evening sitting of the Presidium, the discussion of urgent problems created by our impetuous time continued. The Presidium approved the edicts on making border troops and interior troops, which are deployed on its territory, subordinate to the Ukraine. The Presidium approved the edict on banning the activity of the Communist Party of Ukraine basing its reasons on conclusions of the temporary commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine for verification of activity of officials, bodies of power, public associations and organizations on the territory of Ukraine in connection with the state coup. The Presidium examined and approved the corresponding resolutions on a number of other issues of the republic's state life. Kravchuk, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, conducted the sitting.

Kravchuk: No Pardon for Party

LD3108085991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Ukrainian parliament has banned the activities of the republican Communist Party and announced the nationalization of its property.

According to the head of the Ukrainian parliament, Leonid Kravchuk, the party leadership cannot be pardoned for its participation in preparing and staging the state coup.

On Thursday the union parliament suspended the activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union throughout the country's territory.

Kiev City Committee Seals Party Buildings

LD3108190991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0600 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The executive committee of the Kiev city Soviet of People's Deputies has taken the decision to seal the buildings of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the Kiev oblast committee, city committee, and district committees of the party. Similar measurs are also being implemented in other oblasts of the republic.

Former Party Publishing House Goes Independent

LD0209021391 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] The Radyanska Donechchyna publishing house, until recently was the property of the CPSU, has now become a rented and independent publishing house, Donechchyna. This decision was made by the collective of the publishing house in connection with ending to its activity. The profits of the publishing house will now be used for social needs of press workers and journalists.

Military Commissariats Subordinated to Republic

LD3008232891 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine adopted an edict on subordination of military commissariats on the territory of the Ukraine. According to the act on independence of the Ukraine, the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has resolved that the commissariat of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR], oblast, city, and rayon military commissariats are subordinate to the Ministry of Defense of the Ukraine, the Council of Ministers of the Crimean ASSR, and to executive committees of the corresponding soviets of people's deputies.

Kravchuk, Military Chiefs Discuss Armed Forces

LD3008182691 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Kravchuk, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, met today with the commanders of military districts and of the Black Sea Navy, commanders of military formations subordinate to the center, and with heads of internal, border, and railway troops deployed on the republic's territory. The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet briefed them on the work of the extraordinary session of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet, and the nature and importance of documents approved by the session, particularly the resolution on military formations in the Ukraine. There was then an exchange of opinions with regard to practical approaches to military development in the republic, setting up Ukraine's Ministry of Defense, and defending the sovereignty of our state both in time of peace and war.

Kravchuk Meets With Republican KGB

LD3008215191 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Kravchuk, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, held a working meeting with leaders and operations staff of the central apparatus of the republic's KGB. In the course of the conversations, issues of the

KGB agencies' activity in general and, particulary, during the period of 19-21 August of this year were discussed as well as their radical reforms in accordance with the legislative acts approved by the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine. It is important to point out, and this was particularly stressed during the meeting, that the personnel of state security agencies acted in time of crisis in full correspondence with the Constitution of the Ukraine, resolutions of the Presidium, and instructions of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine. No violations of law and infringements upon the constitutional rights of citizens were committed in provinces. The exchange of views allowed the outlining of directions and measures which have to guarantee the increasing of responsibility and discipline of the employees of state security agencies who assured the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of their loyalty to the Ukrainian people and the ideals stemming from the act of proclaiming the Ukraine's independence.

Commission To Investigate Officials' Activities

LD3008212991 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] A regular session of Ukraine's Supreme Soviet Presidium was held today. Developing acts adopted earlier, regulations were approved concerning a temporary commission of Ukraine's Supreme Soviet Presidium to investigate the activity of officials, government and administration bodies, public associations and organizations on the territory of Ukraine in connection with the state coup. The regulations are published in the press.

Alterations have been made to articles 51 and 65 of the law on the Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic local soviets of people's deputies and local self-government, which will allow the strengthening of reciprocal action of soviets of various levels. The Presidium adopted a resolution on [words indistinct] financing and spending on elections for Ukraine's president. It also examined a number of other issues concerning the republic.

Kravchuk, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, chaired the Presidium session.

Kravchuk Gives News Conference 27 Aug

LD3008200691 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 27 Aug 91

[News conference by Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet, "on the results of the extraordinary seesion of the Republic's Supreme Soviet" with unidentified reporters in Kiev on 27 August—recorded]

[Text] [Kravchuk] I will not deliver any introductory speeches because there was a report at the session and I cannot add anything. I will be answering questions.

[Reporter] KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA newspaper. Esteemed Leonid Makarovych, during the days of the mutiny I personally felt sorry for many of my colleagues. When democratic newspapers of Moscow were coming out secretly, some republican newspapers fired a volley that was stronger than that of the coupists. In this connection, I have the following question: Do you, as chairman of the Supreme Soviet, have plans regarding making all printing power subordinate to the state and creating equal conditions for the activity of all newspapers?

[Kravchuk] The answer here is very short. According to the resolution of the Supreme Soviet, all the property, including the printing basis, which belonged to the CPSU Central Committee and the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee, has already been handed over to the account of the Supreme Soviet. This issue has thus been settled on both legal and political planes. The talk can now be about what mechanisms, what specific economic measures will be taken to ensure that this should be transferred, that this should be in someone's hands, so there is a state policy on this plane and a free, independent press as it should be in a civilized state, accepting the rule of law. It will make decisions, proceeding from its means and the means of Ukraine, in this particular case, both regarding paper and the printing. However, it will be in the hands of the state. Therefore, this issue is practically settled.

[Reporter] This is IZVESTIYA. You have now become, I think, the head of the most militarized (?state) in Europe [words indistinct]. Tell me, please, what are you going to do with them? And what is your reaction to the statement by the Russian Government on territorial issues [words indistinct]?

[Kravchuk] As a matter of fact, politically speaking, there was also a question at the session of the Supreme Soviet about the Army or rather the troops that are situated on the territory of Ukraine. They are made subordinate or transferred, as they say, under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Soviet. However, it is only a political decision. At present we have to implement a whole range of specific measures. The first of them, I think that it can be tomorrow morning, we have to appoint a temporary acting minister of defense before the session. We have to create either a commission or a council that would work out mechanisms of transferring all possible formations, command and administration. Because one can put a question this way: For the time being we have troops and a minister of defense for coordination of actions with military districts and troops that are at present under a single subordination and under a single command. One can ask a question about the minister of defense who not only acts formally as a minister but has some power and is in command and in control of troops.

Frankly speaking, we are not ready for this yet, because you know that there never was either the headquarters or control of troops in the Ukraine. The control of troops is a business for the Ministry of Defense and the general staff. Therefore, we will appoint the minister, create a

committee or commission that will start the process of negotiations with the Ministry of Defense to determine its military concept and to determine its position. Then we will make corresponding propositions and finally settle this issue.

However, having the corresponding powers, we can already settle a whole number of issues now. For example, I intend to transfer internal troops under the command of the minister of internal affairs literally today or tomorrow, although maybe I will not have enough time.

We have to get down to creating the republican guard. I think that it can not be some force that is concentrated in all troops together with the armed forces of the Ukraine. It can be one regiment that is situated, for instance, somewhere in the capital and performs corresponding duties. Because there is no need for us, if we have a Ukrainian army, for instance, or Ukrainian armed forces, and there can be Ukrainian armed forces—this is one thing, and armed forces in the Ukraine is another thing. Therefore, if there are Ukrainian armed forces, there really can be guardsmen there as well. But they are part of the armed forces. Therefore, there is no need to have armed forces and additionally the republican guard, which is separate in echelon in all oblasts and regions. [sentence as heard]

Even now we can, for example, settle the issue, taking into account the fact that the reorganization in the Army is under way, in order to reconsider some military educational establishments. First of all, not all of them but the political naval academy that is situated on the territory of Kiev-Mohylyansk academy. I think that we will settle this within the next few days to hand this academy, these premises over to our culture at last. That is an approximate situation that we will have. However, I want to say that we do not intend here to settle things immediately using tough means. I want to convene commanders some time the day after tomorrow. If I manage to convene all of them, consult them and think about how to provide officers and servicemen with housing and discuss the other social problems we have to ensure that they have their minds at rest and that when they are in the Ukraine we will have absolutely no complaints. Because now you know that there are examples when the military are treated with disrespect, I would put it this way. This is a very dangerous thing and what happened is not their fault, it is not the fault of soldiers and officers that this coup took place. They should be treated with respect and everything should be done to ensure that they live in Ukraine without having troubles.

If we now hope that Ukraine will be an independent state, we have to have some time before the referendum and get prepared for it to make sure that it goes in a proper way. However, we have to have one thing in mind—that the Ukraine has declared itself to be nonnuclear, but it does not mean that today it has to be weak in regard to armed forces. We cannot yet say today that we do not need any armed forces, that we, generally speaking, stand before the world and say that we do not want anything and we want to be free even from the armed forces. I believe that it could not be a serious policy today.

You all know about this statement on behalf of Boris Nikolayevich by the press secretary of the president himself. The statement comes down to the fact that if some republic, if you put it in one sentence, which is now part of the Union, leaves the Union, then according to international norms, as Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin understands it, it has to reconsider its borders with the Union and those republics that it has common borders with. This is his position. Therefore, when leaving the Union after the referendum on 1 December, if the people vote accordingly, the Ukraine itself has to raise a question about the fact that it secedes. It asks the states it is contiguous with whether they have territorial claims to it. Other republics have to ask the Ukraine whether they have territorial claims to it. This is how Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, with whom I had a conversation, understands this statement.

However, one has to say that this has now caused very weighty repercussions both in Ukraine and in other republics and, I can say without exaggeration, abroad. There are no specific actions by states of the world yet, but I do not think that anyone will support this if the interpretation is as it is. Territorial claims are very dangerous and in any case they can result in great complications for people. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin told me today that corresponding explanations would be given this evening by him or on his behalf with regard to that statement, as to how it should be interpreted and what stresses one has to bear in mind.

[Reporter] This is KIEV PRAVDA. I want to say that if Yavorivskyy or you, Leonid Makarovych, read this act on independence out, not in 1991 but in 1981, you would have probably found yourself very far away, where it is not very warm. You know that it happened to many people, to (Vasyl Stus) and to some deputies of the soviet. Do you think that what has been declared by the soviet now should not have been considered to be a crime at that time? Do you think it is necessary to politically assess this? Some of these people are enraged and some are not, but this is not the point. Is it not necessary to assess this at the Supreme Soviet level, as was done at the congress when the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939 was assessed, in order to rehabilitate the idea of independence of the Ukraine?

[Kravchuk] I think that this issue has a serious ground. It was already discussed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet that we should submit this question to the Supreme Soviet session, and taking into account the declaration of independence and the changes taking place in society and in consciousness in a matter of hours, submit this issue and adopt a corresponding document. We already discussed that. I also want to say that another issue was discussed today. I proposed that

Presidium members discuss it and give it a corresponding political formula and declare this. You see, during that time we had serious complications with registration of various parties that were recently born. Now, although this coup is terrible trouble, it showed precisely who took which side. Those parties that stood firmly for democracy and sovereignty and did not recognize the decisions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, I think that there are reasons to raise questions on this point about their immediate registration. This will also be our corresponding action regarding this political problem. [passage indistinct]

[Announcer] Journalists asked if it is true that the name of the chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet is on the list of people in the Ukraine to be eliminated.

[Kravchuk] You know, it is difficult for me to check this with regard to myself. I was told that there are some lists. Some say I am number seven, others say number 12. It is difficult to verify this. However, one thing is absolutely clear: Long before this coup, when we were celebrating one year's anniversary of the declaration of independence, the report that I delivered from the point of view of independence and sovereignty was assessed extremely negatively. I said at the end that we have already had two chances to have independence and we did not use them, and I said that I believe it is likely that we have such a chance now and we have to use it without fail. It is clear that I cannot be on the list of people who would remain under a new regime in some post or at the lowest levels of power. God knows whether this list exists. Honestly speaking, I do not know, although I have heard about it.

[Reporter] I am from the Polish newspaper GAZETA WYBORCZA. Mr. Chairman, can you explain your personal position and how the parliament of the Ukraine is going to work on the Union treaty. This is now the most urgent problem in the USSR.

[Kravchuk] I think that there cannot be any work on the Union treaty until 1 December. After the referendum, depending on the results, we will determine our position regarding the Union treaty. However, no matter what happens, no matter how the referendum goes, I cannot speak now on behalf of the whole of the parliament and the people of the Ukraine. I have no such authority. I can express my position: No matter how the referendum goes, I will continue with the position I have always had: that the Ukraine should be a sovereign state and the Union can only be a confederation. If it is anything different, it is fated to not exist for a very long time. It is doomed, because history proves that aspirations and movements toward freedom and independence and the desire to be a master of one's own home is a fervent desire of every people. It could only have been destroyed by the State Committee for the State of Emergency. I simply do not see or know any other way.

[Reporter] This is GOVERNMENT COURIER. How would you comment on the appointment of the Union government leadership, of the four men headed by Ivan Stepanovich Silayev?

[Kravchuk] You know, I avoid any sort of assessments of other republics' actions, because the time is such that there can be a very sharp reaction. God forbid we quarrel among republics. Accord is necessary right now and joint actions are necessary.

When I spoke to Ivan Stepanovich Silayev today, he suggested that the Ukraine send its official representative to create an economic agreement. I said that we would send such a representative under the following conditions: if this is going to be a horizontal union, in which republics reach agreements among themselves without the central government; if those who join it will not be nine plus one but simply nine, simply 10, 12, or all 15 republics, and there is no plus one; and if those republics elect some sort of a council and conclude an agreement among themselves. Maybe they will define more precisely the economic relations and economic agreements and this council will coordinate actions among republics. Then our representative can have certain authority and take part in this. If this is going to be through the center, through Doguzhiyev, through Pavlov, and all that, we will refuse such participation using our authorities. We can only send a person there as an observer so we know what is happening and can act accordingly, because, as with all sudden political developments, the issue of economic life is the main issue today. People will come to the shops tomorrow, look at the shelves and say: You declared independence, but what has changed? What has changed will be the question all the time—in September, October, November, and in December—and then comes the referendum.

Here we have to concentrate all efforts and everything we have to make progress in the economic sphere. Therefore, I think that it should only be a horizontal agreement. As for what they have done there now, well, it has a temporary nature, although I feel a certain danger in the fact that they are people from one republic and these people will be taking everything to their side. I already have certain information now. This is dangerous.

[Reporter] This is [name indistinct] magazine. I would like to ask what plans you have with regard to visiting Canada and the United States in the near future?

[Kravchuk] I intend to visit the United States and the United Nations. We already have a preliminary agreement. President Bush expressed a desire to meet with me in the United States when he visited the Ukraine. At the moment I do not have any specific or official invitation to Canada yet. However, in connection with the fact that this year is the 100-year anniversary of Ukrainians who moved to Canada and to other countries, I would certainly want to visit and associate with Ukrainians, including Ukrainian organizations abroad.

[Reporter] Mr. Kravchuk, it was rumored recently that you have either left the party or you are planning to do so soon. [words indistinct] tell us if this is true, and if it is, then how is this going to affect the Ukraine? The second question is: Now that the Ukraine has declared its

independence, one has to clarify the economic situation. What sort of contacts with other states are suggested for the Ukraine?

[Kravchuk] I have announced my position with regard to my being a member of the CPSU Central Committee, in the Politburo, and in the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee. I explained this at the Supreme Soviet session. As far as my membership in the party is concerned, I consider it unnecessary to make this public. One joins the party and hands an application to a secretary of the primary party organization and does not declare at any meetings or in the Supreme Soviet the fact that one joined the party. Therefore, one has to leave the party in the same way, submitting a corresponding application to a secretary of the primary party organization. I submitted such an application to my secretary of the primary party organization after my conversation with General Varennikov on 19 August, because I understood that he does not only represent the troops but also the CPSU. This is a matter of fact. The intrinsic and ideological point lies in the fact that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet—when things are quiet in the society, when the parties are not fighting, when parties find mutual understanding, even those that adhere to different points of view—then there is no danger for a leader of the state, for instance, to be member of some party. However, when a war is under way, when parties make decisions that are not carefully thought out, when these decisions quite often go against the law and against the constitution, then the chairman of the Supreme Soviet cannot be member of a party, because the blame for these decisions is put on him. He can be involved in it even indirectly. Properly speaking, it would be very difficult to explain this.

There is a third point. I left the CPSU. As you remember, I spoke all the time during the recent year at the plenums of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee. I will not talk about the Politburo. It was not published at the congress, especially during its second period, that there should be a Ukrainian communist party, our own one, an independent one with its program and its statute and with its own position. This party has to defend democratic principles and the principles of sovereignty. This position has been made public and is known. My last speech at the plenum had absolutely no support.... [remainder of news conference lost due to break in transmission]

Further on News Conference

PM3008113891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[S. Tsikora report: "What Line Is the Ukraine Pursuing?"]

[Text] Kiev—The Ukraine has clarified its position on a number of fundamental political questions. L. Kravchuk, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet, did this at a press conference.

In response to a question from your IZVESTIYA correspondent asking what the Ukraine, having declared its independence and transferred the army to its own authority, intends to do with the hundreds of thousands of officers and men stationed on its territory and what is the reaction of the republic parliament to the statement made by the Russian president's press secretary on the possiblity of territorial claims with respect to neighbors intending to leave the Union, L. Kravchuk said:

"The political aspect of the problem of the troops stationed on the territory of the Ukraine, which declared its independence 24 August, has been resolved. On parliament's instructions, they have been made subordinate to the republic Supreme Soviet. The second phase is now setting in—the elaboration of a mechanism for the transfer of the troops. Today or tomorrow the Supreme Soviet Presidium will appoint an acting Ukrainian defense minister. Then a committee or a commission will be organized, which will start holding talks with the USSR Ministry of Defense.

"But that is in the future. As for the immediate steps byf the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, the internal troops stationed in the republic will be transferred to the command of the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs literally in the next few days. At the same time we are embarking on the formation of a republic guard. At the moment we see it as a crack regiment stationed in the capital.

"On 29 August, I intend to meet with the command of all military districts in the Ukraine and discuss with them the army's most pressing subject: how to provide housing for the military, organize their conditions, and reassure their families. We aim to resolve these questions in such a way that we receive no complaints, and that people consider service in the Ukrainian Armed Forces to be an honor.

"Now about the Russian president's statement read out by his press secretary. I had a telephone conversation with B. Yeltsin, and he told me that Russia has no territorial claims against the Ukraine. But since Russia's position has been greeted in a very mixed way in the republics, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium has instructed its press center to make a statement on its behalf. Its main point is that a treaty was signed between the Ukraine and Russia on 19 November 1990, and in its sixth article, the sides acknowledged and pledged themselves to respect the territorial integrity of the Ukraine and Russia 'in the existing borders within the USSR.' The statement goes on to say: 'In the event of either of the parties to the aforesaid treaty ending their participation in the USSR, their territory should be determined according to its status as of 19 November 1990. Consequently the presence or absence of Union relations cannot be a basis for placing the present Russian-Ukrainian borders in doubt. Thus there are no legal

grounds for viewing the statement of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president's press secretary as applicable to relations between Russia and the Ukraine.'"

L. Kravchuk's answer to the question of his attitude to the new political situation in the country and the text of the Union treaty that has been prepared for signing, was also thorough. The chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet said that the republic cannot hold any talks regarding the Union treaty before 1 December, because presidential elections and a referendum on the ratification of the Ukraine's act of independence are scheduled for that day. As for L. Kravchuk's own principled position, he is now convinced that a renewed Union can only be a confederation. "If it is something else, it is not fated to have a long existence. It is doomed because the desire to be master in one's own home is the indomitable aspiration of every people," Kravchuk said.

A word about two interesting facts cited at the press conference. L. Kravchuk reported that on 19 August, he wrote a statement on his withdrawal from the CPSU and handed this statement to the local party organization. The chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet also confirmed that he was told about the lists of people the conspirators intended to remove in the first instance. His name is also on the list, and according to one of the journalists, it was not far from the name of People's Deputy Stepan Khmara.

The situation in the Ukraine at midday on 28 August was generally calm. By then the sitting of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, which had opened in the morning and was discussing the urgent problems of the day, resumed.

Report on Talks With RSFSR Delegation

PM3008112091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by S. Tsikora: "Russia and the Ukraine Reach Agreement"]

[Text] Kiev—At 0600 on 29 August republican radio broadcast appeals by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium to political parties and citizens.

The appeal to parties and movements says that the Ukraine has already twice lost its independence "because of the Ukrainian people's lack of unity, hostile irreconcilability between individual strata, and a lack of experience of statehood." The presidium called for a concerted stance by democratic forces and a united effort on the path of building an independent, sovereign Ukraine, and it was proposed that a joint agreement be signed to that end, which "would be a guarantor of social accord."

In the other document—an appeal to citizens of all nationalities—the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium "took upon itself the responsibility for ensuring that the proclamation of Ukrainian independence would in no way lead to the violation of the rights of people of any nationality," but would safeguard the rights of all citizens and ensure complete freedom of development for all national languages and cultures.

There is a Presidium decree, also dated 28 August, making all military commissariats on Ukrainian territory subordinate to the republic Defense Ministry.

All these documents were adopted an hour before USSR Supreme Soviet and Russian delegations arrived in Kiev. The republic had been rocked by the irresponsible actions of certain deputies at the current session in Moscow, the ill-considered words about the "emergency situation" taking shape in the Ukraine. While the delegation from Moscow was flying to Kiev on its undeclared mission, Ukrainian People's Deputy M. Porovskiy, one of the leaders of "Rukh" [Ukrainian People's Movement], went on the air and called for the protection of the independence of the republic and its parliament. So by the time the delegation arrived the Ukrainian parliament was already surrounded by broad-shouldered fellows wearing Rukh badges and armbands.

Russian delegation head A. Rutskoy's statement at the airport to the effect that they had not come with an ultimatum, but for constructive talks, relieved the tension somewhat, but it did not dispel the suspicion entirely. It was manifested in the fact that the delegation from Moscow was not received straight away by head of the republic L. Kravchuk, but first explained the purpose of its visit to the democrats' bloc in parliament. The sides were pleased to be able to find a common language very quickly. This was assisted to a considerable extent by S. Stankevich's statement that the Russian delegation did not intend to discuss any territorial matters and did not question the Ukraine's right to independence.

After that the delegations from the USSR Supreme Soviet, Russia, and the Ukraine had an official meeting. The sides agreed that during the talks they would concentrate on solving the problems of the transitional period. The main ones were divided into three blocks—political, economic, and military.

The talks and the elaboration of the text of the joint communique lasted until 0100. All that time the republic's parliament was surrounded by Kiev residents holding a rally outside its walls. People's deputies had to come into the square one by one to calm the political emotions.

At 0100 delegation heads L. Kravchuk and A. Rutskoy held a press conference at which the text of the joint communique was read out. Its main positions are as follows: For the transitional period the republics will set up temporary state structures to maintain parity of people's living standards and economies and will immediately set about preparing an economic agreement; they will not take any unilateral decisions on strategic military questions of defense; they will confirm citizens' rights and their constitutuonal freedoms; they will

declare the sides' territorial integrity; they will swiftly exchange official representatives.

A new political term introduced into the communique—"the former Union"—attracted attention. Answering a question put by journalists, L. Kravchuk said that "we were reflecting thereby an actual political fact. Any measures arising out of that have to be taken in accordance with the will of the people."

As these lines were being transmitted the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium session resumed. Draft resolutions on the transfer of internal troops in the Ukraine to the control of the republic's parliament and on the disbandment of the Communist Party, which discredited itself during the putsch, have been waiting since yesterday to be tackled.

RSFSR Moves Seen as 'Sinister'

PM0209143391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 91 Single Edition pp 1-2

[Correspondent I. Tikhomirov report under general headline: "Together, But Apart? Reports From a Number of Republics Provide Evidence That Union Treaty Will Unite Them Not in a Federation but a Confederation"]

[Text] Ukraine—On 24 August the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet proclaimed the Ukraine an independent, democratic state. From the moment of the proclamation, only the Constitution, laws, and resolutions of the government and other acts of the republic's legislature are valid on the territory.

The resolution was adopted with a unanimity which could not have been predicted even a week before the extraordinary session. But the first phrase of the independence declaration act clarifies the reasons for the consolidation. A step has been taken, contrary to the Ukrainian people's will expressed at the spring referendum, which "proceeds from the mortal danger threatening the Ukraine in connection with the state coup in the USSR 19 August 1991."

There were more than enough events in the three tragic days to prompt dark thoughts and difficult but urgent conclusions. Unfortunately things have happened even since the putsch was eliminated which have left people reeling. What about the postulate let slip during a meeting in the Russian parliament: "The president of the Union must be a Russian, the prime minister, too, but the vice president can be someone from a Central Asian republic."

God knows what the noble aim of the promise was, but once it reached the airwaves it was immediately transformed into something sinister and destructive. I am not going to measure down to the kilogram-meter the strength which impelled the deputies' hand when deciding the fate of the Ukraine and, thus, that of their voters—but its influence was considerable: The whole day both in the session hall and in the corridors people commented on the phrase in tones of bewilderment and condemnation.

There is worse to come. As if with a set aim there has been a whole series of TV programs pursuing as their main theme the "keep out" idea. But these were just high-ranking interviewees expressing personal thoughts. Then, however, there was the quite official statement from the RSFSR president's press secretary, which could be interpreted to mean that Russia casts doubt on the inviolability of the borders with the republics leaving the USSR. Finally, it was said in every way from the rostrum of the USSR Supreme Soviet session that the republics were abandoning all restraint and this had to be stopped.

Is it any wonder that the sudden news of the Rutskoy and Sobchak delegations' departure to the Ukraine did not ease the tension. On the contrary. Speaking live on the air a representative of the People's Front reported: "They are flying to a sovereign Ukraine without asking for consent..." And the call for a rally outside the Supreme Soviet building was taken by Kievans as an alarm signal.

During the long hours of the statesmen's working meeting there were many, naturally different, words spoken. But the tone of the talks was surely devoid of the emotions of rallies. At least, there was not the slightest hint of them in the communique on the talks between the RSFSR and Ukrainian delegations involving the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation.

The communique confirms the civil rights and territorial integrity of the sides as enshrined in the 19 November 1990 bilateral treaty. It proposes actively pursuing democratic transformations together with other states-subjects of the former Union.

25 Percent of Soviet Property Abroad Claimed

OW3008124591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1050 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian Ambassador to the U.N. Gennadiy Udovenko said that the Ukraine claims 25 percent of all USSR property abroad. He also said that the Ukraine intends to get rid of nuclear weapons stationed on its territory. A commission of experts might be formed to liquidate them or transfer them to the USSR. The Ukraine, its ambassador said, intends to restore diplomatic relations with the U.S., Canada, Israel and the neighbor countries.

Moldova

President Telegraphs Gorbachev About Independence

LD3008183991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Reports from Kishinev say that Moldovan President Mircha Snegur, and Aleksandr Mosanu, Chairman of the Moldovan Supreme Soviet, have sent a telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev with the information that the Moldovan Parliament unanimously adopted a declaration on state independence and formed a commission for regulating relations with the USSR.

In other news, the Moldovan police arrested Igor Smirnov, Chairman of the Dniestr Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic. It is possible that if arrests continue and Igor Smirnov is not released, the Dniestr area would stop supplying electric power to Moldova, this amounts to approximately 96-98 per cent of all power supplied to this republic.

No Economic Breaks With Republics Planned

OW3008131091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1050 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday Moldova's President Mircha Snegur said in an interview for Romanian radio that the republican authorities have published the declaration of Moldova's independence abroad to enable other countries, first of all European states, to determine their attitude to the "small independent nation", as he put it.

With reference to the internal policy Mircha Snegur said that his government is to take a number of urgent measures to stabilize the economic situation. "We have no intention of breaking our economic ties with republics that made up the USSR", said M.Snegur. "Whether we like it or not, in the past 50 years our economy was integrated in a way that makes it impossible to break these ties all of a sudden".

M. Snegur firmly called for holding general presidential elections in the republic. He'll raise this question resolutely at the parliament session scheduled for this autumn, he said.

Snegur Replies to Iliescu Cable on Independence

AU3108153191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1305 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/8/1991—In response to the congratulatory telegram addressed by Romania's President Ion Iliescu on the occasion of the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Moldova, Moldovan President Mircha Ion Snegur sent a telegram showing that the people and the leadership of the republic are determined to consolidate the victory just obtained and persevere on the way of full sovereignty, democracy and progress, the only way apt to bring Moldova back among civilised states and help it develop equal and mutually advantageous relations with all the states of the world.

"Allow me to express my belief that the brotherly feelings of the Romanians on either bank of the Prut will yield fruit in a more intense cooperation in all possible fields."

Diplomatic Ties With Romania Established

LD3008231991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2126 GMT 30 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The foreign ministers of Romania and Moldova, meeting in Bucharest, signed a document reestablishing diplomatic relations and opening embassies in the respective capitals of the two republics. They also signed an agreement on the unhindered passage of citizens across the Romanian-Moldavian broder. [video shows signing ceremony]

Snegur Meets Romanian Senate Leader

OW3108161991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During his Friday meeting in Kishinev with the head of Romania's Senate Alexander Barladeanu, Moldova's president Mircha Snegur said the Moldovans are well aware that they may expect any kind of surprise actions on Moscow's part. Hence the republican government's determination to order immediate action on three major projects: reorganization of security services, formation of a national guard, and the introduction of Moldova's own currency.

On the problem of the Dniestr area, President Snegur said that the situation there is still tension-laden because of "destructive actions by the separatists." He expressed Moldova's readiness to invite any international commission, including one from the United Nations but in no way from the USSR Supreme Soviet, to check whether the Moldovan authorities' policy toward the separatists has been unlawful in any of its aspects.

Thanks Romanian Leaders

AU3108211391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1733 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/8/1991—Moldova's President Mircha Snegur received Saturday, 31 August, the Romanian Senate President Alexandru Barladeanu, on a visit to Chisinau [Kishinev] on the occasion of Moldova's national holiday "Our Romanian Language."

During the interview, President Snegur expressed his gratitude for the solidarity shown by the Romanian people and Romania's leadership on Moldova's proclamation of independence.

Senator Barladeanu warmly congratulated the people and the president of Moldova for the independence proclamation and stated the determination of the Romanian Parliament to support Moldova in its efforts of easing the country out of the present difficult situation and of consolidating as a young independent state.

Official Denies Coordination With Romania

LD3008142291 Budapest MTI in English 0814 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—"Moldavia has not co- ordinated its intention to declare independence with Romania. Kishinev has not asked for Bucharest's opinion on the issue. There is nothing strange about the Romanian television broadcasting live the session of the Moldavian parliament making this historic decision, and it is also natural that Romania has recognized Moldavia's sovereignty immediately," deputy speaker of the Moldavian parliament Viktor Puskas said in a telephone interview with the Hungarian daily NEPSZAVA. The interview is published in the Friday edition of the paper.

Puskas has not denied that there are extreme organizations and forces of considerable size both in Romania and Moldavia that have expressed their chauvinist views, calling for a revision of borders recently.

Puskas said it was natural that the majority of the world was more concerned with recognizing the sovereignty of the Baltic states these days, but expressed his hope that Moldavia would not be relegated into the background, either.

In his views, Moldavia needs international recognition, too, as events in the Soviet Union are still giving cause for worries.

Puskas called special attention to the statement of Russian President Boris Yeltsin that Russia will assert territorial claims towards republics choosing to secede. Though, for the time being, it does not affect Moldavia, things may change in future. Therefore, Kishinev considers all attempts at changing borders to be very dangerous in the Soviet Union as well as in East-Central Europe

Army Paper Cites Snegur on Independence

PM3008111391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

[MOLDOVA-PRESS-TASS report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Steps Toward Independence"]

[Text] Kishinev—As we approached the day of Moldova's declaration of independence, we took one step at a time, without moving ahead of events, President of Moldova Mircha Snegur has said at a news conference. Moldova has chosen the most favorable moment to declare its independence, and the deciding factor was the Ukraine's declaration of its independence, Aleksandru Mosanu, chairman of the Moldovan parliament, added. Romania and Georgia have officially recognized the independence of the Republic of Moldova.

On the subject of territories (northern Bukovina and southern Bessarabia, which are under Ukrainian jurisdiction), the Moldovan leaders stressed that these will be the subject of talks with the Ukrainian leadership.

Speaking about the unification of Moldova with Romania, Snegur noted that the inhabitants of Bessarabia should first of all enjoy the fruits of freedom, and only then take the next step. In politics you have to be realistic.

Nothing and no one can now stop the disintegration of the Soviet empire, which is now in its death throes, parliament chairman A. Mosanu also said.

I. Kostash, Moldovan minister of internal affairs, made a statement on television in which he condemned the actions of the militarized detachments of the Dniestr region. These illegal formations, the minister said, tried to prevent the Moldovans of the Dniestr's left bank from coming to Kishinev to participate in the Grand National Assembly which took place 27 August, on the day of the republic's declaration of independence. A number of citizens were killed, and some were wounded. Moldovan state tricolors were destroyed. The conflict was suppressed as a result of police intervention.

Government Nationalizes Communist Party Property

LD3108014891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2230 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] The Government of Moldova has adopted a resolution to implement the Republican parliament's decision to nationalize the property of the Communist Party. MOLDOVA PRESS reports that, under the document, all party funds, including foreign currency, will be transferred to a special fund set up by the Republican Ministry of Finance. The resolution provides for the property of the party Central Committee and its economic bodies to be transferred to the state chancellery of the Republic and for the property of party town and rayon committees and primary organizations to come under the control of local authorities.

Dniestr Leader Arrested, Brought to Kishinev

LD3108173491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1301 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Kishinev, 30 Aug (TASS)—Moldovan Internal Affairs Ministry workers have arrested Igor Smirnov, chairman of the Dniestr Republic. As reported by MOLDOVA-PRES AGENCY, he is accused of plotting against the state interests of the republic. After the collapse of the attempted anti-constitutional putsch,

which was supported by the Tiraspol separatists, Igor Smirnov hid in one of the military units stationed in the town. According to Moldovan Internal Affairs Minister Ion Kostash, the arrested man has been brought to Kishinev.

Dniestr Threatens Economic Measures

LD0209205491 Moscow TASS in English 2025 GMT 2 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Fyodor Angely]

[Text] Kishinev September 2 TASS—A congress of all levels of people's deputies of the Dniestr region opened in Tiraspol today to discuss the political, social and economic situation of the Dniestr republic.

The congress adopted the Constitution of the republic and approved its emblem and flag—the flag of the former Moldovian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The congress decided to create the national guard to protect the Dniestr republic from without and to subordinate the city interior department to the Dniestr republic only.

On behalf of the congress, an ultimatum demand was sent to the leaders of Moldova to free before 8 a.m. on September 3 chairman of the Dniestr Supreme Soviet Igor Smirnov and all other deputies detained by the Moldovian Interior Ministry.

Otherwise, economic measures will be taken against the Moldovian leadership: supplies of gas and electricity to the right bank Dniestr region will be terminated and railways will be blocked, the document said.

On behalf of the Dniestr Congress, a resolution was sent to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies with an insistent request to recognise the Dniestr republic.

Rail Traffic Blocked by Protestors

LD0209122691 Berlin ADN in German 1121 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Moscow (ADN)—Hundreds of supporters of the Dniestr Republic and the Gagauz Republic blocked rail traffic on the most important stretch in Moldova between the capital Kishinev and the city of Bendery today. They called for an immediate end to repressive measures against the Russian-speaking population of Moldova and the release of the imprisoned leaders of the two republics accused of having supported the Moscow coup. This was announced by Vasiliy Vatascanu, director-general of the MOLDOVAPRESS agency, to ADN's Moscow bureau. If the authorities in Kishinev reject these demands then the Dniestr republicans are threatening to shut down the Kugergan power station, the biggest in Moldova. This would mean that the biggest part of the republic as well as areas of neighboring countries will be without power and heat.

Aleksey Andriyevskiy, the acting representative of Moldova in Moscow, denied to ADN all reports of repressive measures against the Russian-speaking population of the two republics which are not recognized by the Government of Moldova. [passage omitted]

Gagauz Congress Proposes Confederation

LD0309091191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Details became known yesterday about the national congress of the Gagauz which ended in Komrat. The declaration of independence of the Gagauz republic was confirmed. Furthermore, the delegates drew up an appeal to the leadership of Moldova, proposing the creation of a confederation of three republics: Moldova itself, and the Gagauz and Dniestr republics.

Presidential Decree on Language Department

LD0109082191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1552 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Kishinev, 31 August (TASS)—The president of Moldova has signed a decree setting up a state department to insure the functioning of languages on the territory of the republic. The MOLDOVA-PRES agency reports this.

The department is being set up on the basis of the republican center for terminology of the Academy of Sciences, with the aim of insuring the implementation of current legislation on languages, and implementation of the comprehensive state program for the functioning and development of languages of all the ethnic groups resident in Moldova.

Georgia

Shooting Occurs in Tbilisi, TV Off Air

LD0309134491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] We begin with details of yesterday evening's unauthorized meeting in Tbilisi, which took place on Rustaveli Square at the initiative of the opposition National Democratic Party of Georgia, whose leader is Chanturia. Those taking part in the meeting, numbering from 300 to 1,000 people according to various counts, demanded the resignation of the president, the dissolution of the republican parliament, and freedom of the press.

As reported by INTERFAX, detachments of the Tbilisi Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] tried to break up the meeting. A few automatic weapons rounds were fired into the air. The OMON's actions incensed the crowd. Those taking part in the meeting then approached the republican television building where they demanded that the organizers of the action be given air time. This demand was not satisfied.

Speaking tonight on television, President Gamsakhurdia of Georgia accused the meeting organizers of seeking to destabilize the political situation in the republic, and called them agents of the Kremlin. Gamsakhurdia confirmed that some of the participants in the meeting were the first to open fire on the militia and said that proof of this could be seen in the flak jackets of the militiamen that were marked by bullets; these jackets will be put on display.

Georgian Internal Affairs Minister Khabuliani told journalists that during the incident about 30 members of the militia sustained severe injuries. According to the Georgian president's press service, wounds, including one from shooting, were suffered by 21 militiamen and four participants in the meeting. One militiaman is in intensive care.

Meanwhile, an INTERFAX correspondent reports, another meeting is planned in Tbilisi today. [Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 1300 GMT on 3 September reports that Georgian "television is off the air, and the lack of information is naturally causing all kinds of rumors."]

AFP Says Communist Officials Arrested

AU0109204091 Paris AFP in English 1219 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sept 1 (AFP) — The number two man in the Communist Party of Georgia and the editor-in-chief of a major communist daily have been arrested, sources close to their families said Sunday [1 September].

Sergo Rikvava, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party, and Otar Yosseliany, senior editor of the daily TSKHOVREBA (Life), were arrested Saturday and their houses were searched, the sources said.

The first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party, Jimmy Mikeladze, was spared because he was absent from Tbilisi on vacation during the failed coup attempt in Moscow, local journalists said.

Meanwhile, 65 communist deputies were removed from office during the parliamentary session in Georgia on Friday, local radio announced. There are 250 seats in the Georgian parliament.

The opposition National Democratic Party has called for a demonstration in Tbilisi on Monday to call for the resignation of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

Romania Recognizes Georgian Independence

AU0309112091 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Message from Romanian Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase, to Murman Omanidze, Republic of Georgia minister of foreign affairs; date not given]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr. Murman Omanidze, Republic of Georgia minister of foreign affairs

Your Excellency,

I have the honor and pleasure of informing you that, on 27 August 1991, the Romanian Government adopted the decision to recognize officially the restoration of the independence of the Georgian state.

It is a particular honor for us to congratulate you and, in your name, the Georgian Government and the entire Georgian people on [words indistinct] the historic restoration of state independence.

At the same time, the Romanian Government declares its readiness to develop friendly relations and cooperation with the Republic of Georgia in accordance with the UN Charter and the principles of international law. In particular, Romania especially looks forward to establishing the basis for economic cooperation in the Black Sea region through joint efforts with the Republic of Georgia and other interested states and to developing other projects.

[Signed] Adrian Nastase, Romanian minister of foreign affairs.

Armenia

Republic Supreme Soviet Message on Independence

NC3108112691 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 30 Aug

[Statement issued by the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium in Yerevan on 30 August]

[Text] A new and democratic situation has emerged in the Soviet Union in the wake of the failure of the coup, a result achieved largely thanks to the efforts of the Russian leadership, people, and parliament to restore legality and frustrate the overt and covert forces seeking a return to the days of dictatorship. The Armed Forces, committees for state security, and law enforcement organs are being comprehensively depoliticized, the property of the Communist Party is being nationalized, and the republics' statuses are being clarified, while more decisive steps are being taken to make the transition to a market economy. Legislative solutions to these questions had already been found by the Armenian Republic.

Despite the results of the 17 March referendum, a number of republics are now indicating that they wish to leave the structure of the Soviet Union, a development which reaffirms the correctness of Armenia's policy toward the Soviet Union and the union treaty. With its decision to ignore the results of the 17 March referendum and to adhere to its declaration of independence, the Armenian Supreme Soviet is following the road toward independence by organizing the referendum to be held in the republic on 21 September. The Presidium believes that under these new conditions, the referendum will provide a political base for the recognition and development of Armenia's independence. The Presidium is certain that the citizens of the Armenian Republic will approve independence and create the grounds for progress, freedom, and prosperity for themselves and future generations.

All Communist Party Property Seized

NC3108110091 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] At a meeting yesterday held under Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium heard a report on the conclusions reached by the commission that was established to study the legality of the Communist Party's registration as a political party and its activities, delivered by Rafayel Babayan, member of the commission and chairman of the Human Rights and Nationalities Affairs Commission. After examining the commission's proposals, the Supreme Soviet Presidium decided to revoke its earlier decision, made at the suggestion of the Armenian Council of Ministers, to exempt some Communist Party property from nationalization to allow the party to continue its normal operations. All property of the Communist Party will now be nationalized.

In addition, the Communist Party's assets will be frozen and its archives turned over to the republic's archives.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan then announced that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has officially invited an Armenian delegation to participate in the congress of the Soviet people's deputies. The Presidium then decided to appoint a delegation for this purpose. Other matters pertaining to the republic's political and social life were also discussed.

Manukyan on Independence, Future of Union

LD3108120291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1508 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Yerevan, 30 Aug (ARMENPRESS-TASS)—After the failure of the coup, which was directed against democracy and the liberties and rights of ethnic groups, a new period has begun in the history of the Soviet Union and indeed of the whole world, said Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, speaking on republic television.

Reflecting on the future development of the country, he expressed the opinion that in all probability it would follow the path described by President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan—each republic seeking to declare its independence while maintaining long- standing economic relations. "The republics will possibly unite in a union primarily of an economic, but also of a political and military character."

A time of decisive actions has now come for Armenia, the republic's head of government emphasized, referring to the declaration of independence. "Doing this later on will be complicated," for, he pointed out, such steps by the republics are now "being received easily," not only by the center and the Russian Federation but also by foreign countries.

Vazgen Manukyan went on to express the opinion that now "Russia has an interest in the existence of a weak center which would be subordinate to it and in holding down the republics through such a center." He considers that the situation may change subsequently, since Russia is so strong that the other republics will try to "resist this power economically" and create "a coordinating center for solving their issues" with the Russian Federation.

Whatever decision the republics make, their economic ties will be preserved, and this interrelationship will lead to the creation of various economic blocks, Vazgen Manukyan emphasized.

Azerbaijan

Republic Condemns Nagorno-Karabakh Proclamation

OW0309140991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Azerbaijani parliamentarian Yashar Isag-ogly Abbasov told the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Moscow on Tuesday that Azerbaijan censures yesterday's proclamation in Stepanakert of a Nagorno-Karabakhi Republic by a joint session of the Regional Council of Nagorno-Karabakh and the District Council of Shaumyanovsk. He said the move is meant "to torpedo the first signs of dialogue between the Azerbaijani and Armenian communities." Nagorno-Karabakh is

an autonomous region within Azerbaijan which is populated largely by Armenians. The Shaumyanovsk district, also Armenian-populated, ceased existing as a separate territorial entity and is now considered by Azerbaijani authorities as part of the Gheranboi district of Azerbaijan.

Mutalibov Sole Candidate for President

LD0209225491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Sep 91

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Aflatyn Amashov]

[Text] Baku, 2 Sep (TASS)—On 8 September, the day of the first nationwide election of the president of the republic, the name of a single candidate will be on the ballot—that of the current president of Azerbaijan, Ayaz Mutalibov. This became known after his rival, one of the leaders of the Azerbaijan Social-Democratic Party, Zardusht Ali-Zade [name as received], withdrew his candidacy. The central electoral commission for the election of the Azerbaijani president complied with the statement by Zardusht Ali-Zade.

In the words of the leader of the Azerbaijan Social-Democratic Party, the complexity of the sociopolitical situation in the republic and the need, under these conditions, to postpone the Azerbaijani presidential election is the main reason that prompted him to withdraw his candidacy. The former candidate considers that a certain role was also played by the fact that local republican leaders did not create the conditions for himself and his agents to meet voters and to promulgate his election platform.

Mutalibov on RSFSR Parliament, Azerbaijan

LD3008223491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Interview with A.N. Mutalibov by unidentified correspondent; date, place not given, from the "Vesti" newscast; video shows Mutalibov in office—recorded]

[Text] [Mutalibov] At one of the first sessions of the Union of the Federation, when the first draft of the Union treaty was discussed, I said then, without any reservations: We stand for a confederation.

[Unidentified correspondent] Ayaz Niyazovich, we know that the current Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Government is not what it used to be. There are reports that the RSFSR Government refuses to sign the Union treaty with Azerbaijan until the latter resolves the problem of Nagorno- Karabakh.

[Mutalibov] You know, I do not know who is harboring these thoughts. Some people are now making them public and you can hear these ideas being expressed sometimes. As a matter of fact, these people are not doing the Russian Government any favors. How can they, while enjoying the trust of certain parliamentarians who speak in the RSFSR Parliament—there are Armenians among them, incidentally, such as Ambartsumov, Arutyunov, Alikhanyan, Bonner—goad the RSFSR leadership into taking that course. I think that it is simply indecent. Out of respect for the Russian Parliament we received Russian Parliament delegations here several times. But they took a patently subjective stance, and were not even embarrassed about expressing it. So does that mean that we are being visited by lobbyists, and not by members of the RSFSR Parliament? One can only speculate on what terms these people become lobbyists. Throughout the world lobbyists are generally financed by certain political forces. So no doubt some payment must be involved in all this.

Supreme Soviet Establishes National Guard

NC3008182491 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1300 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] The extraordinary meeting of the Azerbaijan Republic Supreme Soviet resumed its work today. Elmira Kafarova, chairwoman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, is chairing the sessions.

The deputies adopted a decision for the lifting of the state of emergency in Baku. This decision was adopted on the understanding that the Supreme Soviet's decision dated 22 January 1990 remains in effect.

The session adopted a declaration for the restoration of Azerbaijan's independence, which was first declared in 1918. The deputies put forward a very important proposal in connection with this matter.

The session also adopted a decision for the establishment of Azerbaijan's national guard. This guard will be established to safeguard Azerbaijan's independence and strengthen the defense of the republic's borders.

Later, the session examined the question of converting the Azerbaijan Committee for State Security [KGB] into the Azerbaijan Ministry of National Security. The proposal that will be put forward on this will be debated during the next session. Meanwhile, changes are being considered within the structure of the republic's KGB at present.

The extraordinary session is being covered by the republic's television. The radio will report on the work of the session this evening.

30 Aug Rally Supports Supreme Soviet Decisions

NC3108163391 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0440 GMT 31 Aug 91

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The multinational rally held in Baku's Azadlyg Square yesterday began with a minute of silence to honor those who were killed during the anti-constitutional coup attempt in Moscow. The meeting was devoted to the

restoration of Azerbaijan's independence, which is a historic development. The participants supported the policy pursued by the republic's leaders for national solidarity.

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

'Nagorno-Karabakh Armenian Republic' Proclaimed

'Text' of Declaration

NC0309101591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 2 Sep 91

["Text" of declaration establishing the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic]

[Text] A joint session of the Nagorno-Karabakh regional and the Shaumyan District governing councils was held today in the presence of people's deputies of all levels.

Expressing the people's will, which has been proved and passed by the referendum, and by the decisions adopted by the Nagorno-Karabakh and Shaumyan District government bodies between 1988-91 on its freedom, independence, equal rights, and good-neighbor relations; having noted the declaration by the Azerbaijan Republic on the restoration of the state independence of 1918-20; taking into consideration that because of the biased and discriminatory policy being implemented in Azerbaijan, an atmosphere of hatred and intolerance has been created in the republic toward the Armenian people which has led to military clashes, deaths, and the mass deportation of the Armenians from peaceful villages; on the basis of the USSR Constitution and laws which extend to the peoples of the autonomous entities and ethnic groups the right to independent decisionmaking on their state-legal status in the event of a Union republic's secession from the USSR; pointing out that the territory of Shaumyan District has also been isolated from NKAO by force and the wish of the Armenians to reunite on the basis of natural and international norms; pointing out that good-neighbor relations between the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan should be revived on the basis of mutual respect; taking into consideration the complicated and contradictory situation of the country and the undefined fate of the future Union's sovereignty and Union structures; by respecting and observing the World Human Rights Declaration, and international economic, social, and cultural rights as well as the principles of international civil, political, and cultural rights; and hoping for the international community's support and assistance, the session declares the formation of the Nagorno- Karabakh Republic which will comprise the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the adjacent Shaumyan District—in short, the NKR.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic makes use of the authorities granted to the republics by the USSR Constitution and laws, and preserves the right to decide independently its state-legal status on the basis of political consultations and negotiations with the country's and republic's leaderships.

Until the approval of the constitution and laws of the Nagorno- Karabakh Republic, the USSR Constitution and laws as well as the other existing laws which do not oppose the said declaration's points and principles and the republic's special characteristics will apply in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's territory.

[Signed] The joint session of the Nagorno-Karabakh regional and the Shaumyan District governing councils held in the presence of the people's deputies of all levels.

Deputies Ask 'Special Status'

LD3108141391 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Yerevan, August 31 ARMENPRESS-TASS—Members of the Soviet parliament elected in Nagorno-Karabakh—Boris Dadamyan, Zoriy Balayan, Vagan Gabriyelyan and Genrikh Pogosyan—have appealed to the parliaments of the USSR and the Russian Federation, demanding that a resolution be promptly passed to grant special status to the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, including the Shaumyan district. They requested that these two areas be included in the USSR as one independent subject of federation.

The Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region and the Shaumyan district, the appeal says, recognise only the Constitution of the USSR and the Constitution of the Russian Federation and consider irrelevant the declaration of state independence adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan Republic on August 30, 1991.

The deputies say it should be taken into account that Nagorno- Karabakh, including the Shaumyan district, was incorporated into Russia under the 1813 Gyulistan treaty. Its borders were revised after the October 1917 revolution by the criminal organisation, the Caucasian Bureau of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1921.

The Nagorno-Karabakh region declared itself free from all political consequences of the unlawful decision of the Caucasian Bureau of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), under which the region was ceded to the former Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic, the appeal says.

Composition of Republic Explained

LD0209213291 Moscow TASS in English 2106 GMT 2 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert September 2 TASS—A joint session of the Nagorno-Karabakh regional and the Shaumyan

District governing councils, which was held in the presence of people's deputies of all levels, today declared the establishment of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic.

The session adopted a declaration in which the new Republic's territory comprises the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region [NKAO] and the adjacent Shaumyan district. Like the autonomous region, this district is inhabited mostly by Armenians. It was abolished by the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan Republic this year.

The declaration says this decision was made following the declaration of independence by the Azerbaijan Republic on the basis of the USSR Constitution and laws, which, as the declaration says, "extend to the peoples of the autonomous entities and ethnic groups the right to an independent decision-making as regards their state-legal status in the event of a Union republic's secession from the USSR."

Leonard Petrosyan, who was elected chairman of the regional council today, told TASS: "The emergence of new conditions—the declaration of independence by the Azerbaijan Republic, which we welcome, generated concern with the autonomous region and the Shaumyan District about their destiny. Therefore, we proclaimed the Republic and are ready to make use of Article 3 of the USSR law 'On the Procedure for Solving Issues Relating to a Union Republic's Secession from the USSR' and to raise the question of changing the state-legal status of our autonomous entity as the subject of the USSR. Law and democracy should be the same for large and small state-national entities."

Representatives of the Armenian population, which is subordinate to the Nagorno-Karabakh Regional Council, the powers of which were suspended in January 1989 and have not yet been restored by the supreme authority of the country and the Republic, also adopted several appeals, including to the parliament and president of Russia and the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies, asking them to recognise the new state entity.

Official Comments on 'Unstable' Situation

NC0109070891 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Answering the ARMENPRES correspondent's question about the situation in Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO], Leonard Petrosyan, acting chairman of the oblast's soviet executive committee, said: The situation is very unstable. The laws of the Soviet Union do not apply in Artsakh. Although the Soviet president has decreed that local soviets should take control of Communist Party property, the oblast's party committee building is still surrounded by barbed wire and is being defended by its employees. As a matter of fact, the military commandant is still protecting that anti-constitutional body, the Azerbaijani Organizational Committee. At the same time, Azerbaijani mass media are whipping up an anti-Armenian atmosphere in light of the upcoming presidential elections. All this indicates that the Azerbaijani leaders' promises to stabilize the situation in the NKAO and to satisfy some of the demands of its Armenian people are meaningless.

The chairman of the NKAO's soviet executive committee went on to note that although Azerbaijan is using a third party to deport the Armenians, it will not allow this party to participate in the negotiations.

Leonard Petrosyan added: Our people will not accept a democracy with barbed wire.

Kazakhstan

Rutskoy, Nazarbayev Talks in Alma-Ata Reported

LD3008180591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Aug 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast; correspondent D. Baimbetov report from Alma-Ata]

[Text] [Announcer] A plenipotentiary Russian delegation, headed by Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy, vice president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], is in Alma-Ata. [video shows two delegations seated on opposite sides of a table. Close-up of Rutskoy and Nazarbayev, seated side by side at head of table. Followed by shots of press conference and correspondent interviewing Nazarbayev and Rutskoy]

[Baimbetov] The main reason for the visit by the Russian delegation was the sudden deterioration in the situation in the country triggered by territorial questions. Therefore, immediately after the delegation arrived late yesterday evening, bilateral negotiations began. This urgency is easy to explain. The nascent public protest could not be allowed to gather momentum, as Nazarbayev stated in his telegram to Yeltsin. Otherwise the consequences could be unpredictable.

[Begin recording] [Nazarbayev] The statement made by the press service of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the RSFSR president, was incorrectly interpreted in local areas, being seen as a territorial claim on all republics. That was how the dissatisfaction arose. We had to defuse all these suspicions. Secondly, we should not forget that, in accordance with Article 15 of the treaty which we signed on 21 November last year, all questions arising between the states must be submitted without delay to an arbitration commission, whose task it is to resolve these questions. It is in fulfillment of this article in the treaty that we have come here.

Everybody will be acquainted with the communique which we are to publish. All the issues have been fully reflected in it. In order to ensure that all the peoples of the republic have faith in what we are doing, action must now follow. Only if action is taken will there be trust.

[Rutskoy] Instead of engaging in the further politicization of society, we should now, I think, begin setting up an interstate structure for administration of the state. This is spelled out in point one of the document the president and I have drawn up. That's the first thing. Secondly, we should embark without delay on drafting and signing an economic agreement. This will create a basis. On this foundation we can then begin talks on the creation of a new Union, in the form of a commonwealth of sovereign, independent states. [end recording] [video shows Rutskoy and Nazarbayev signing communique in the presence of delegations, and shaking hands. Further shots from press conference]

[Baimbetov] A joint communique was adopted. It consists of nine points, including a proposal to start without delay on the preparation of an economic agreement, to agree on the timetable and conditions for its signing. Decisions on military-strategic questions and the problems of space research and communications are to be taken only on the basis of interstate consultations and agreement. The communique also says that Kazakhstan's decision to close the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site should be supported. Special stress is placed on the premise that interstate relations are to be based on the principles of sovereign equality, noninterference in internal affairs, renunciation of the use of force and the inadmissibility of actions which harm the state sovereignty of Kazakhstan and Russia.

Local Meetings Follow Semipalatinsk Closing

LD3008215791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0705 GMT 30 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Mirkhat Nigmatullin]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 30 Aug (TASS)—The signing on Thursday [29 August] of a decree by the president of Kazakhstan on the closure of the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site has been accompanied by a wave of meetings in the neighboring oblasts and rayons. They were dedicated to the 42d anniversary of the first nuclear test on Semipalatinsk soil. Participants in the meeting demanded the elimination of all military test sites on the territory of Kazakhstan and the declaration of Kazakhstan as a demilitarized, free state.

In the very capital of the republic representatives of the democratic parties and movements, organizations and societies of Alma-Ata spoke with concern about the consequences of many years of tests on nuclear weapons in the republic and of the political situation in the country. In their words, the renewal of explosions is the way to new dangerous precedents, to a direct infringement on the sovereignty of the Kazakhstan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and would make it impossible to sign the new Union treaty.

The USSR minister of defense, Marshal of the Air Force Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov stated on Thursday in front of the country's Supreme Soviet when he was being confirmed in this post that "the Semipalatinsk test site will no longer be used."

At a meeting in Alma-Ata a statement by representatives of the democratic movements of Kazakhstan was read out which, in particular, raises the issue of calling an extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet and which condemns the territorial claims of Russia. Having read it out, Sultan Sartayev, a people's deputy of the Kazakh SSR and president of the association of lawyers, noted that a rejigging of borders threatens catastrophe and that the territory of Kazakhstan is inalienable. In the words of Sartayev, Kazakhstan will

not refuse to sign the Union treaty, but the future Union can only be a confederation. Anything else is unacceptable to us.

Kyrgyzstan

Assembly Declares 'Independent Democratic State'

OW3108180591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Saturday, August 31, the parliament of Kyrgyzstan declared the republic an independent democratic state.

It also passed a law on general presidential elections which stipulates that President of Kyrgyzstan shall be elected by a popular ballot from the number of Kyrgyz citizens of 30-65 years of age. A person may not hold the presidential office for more than two successive terms.

The first republic-wide presidential elections are scheduled for October 12. One candidate has already been named: the present leader of Kyrgyzstan, Mr. Askar Akayev.

The parliamentary session passed a resolution recognizing the independence of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, and ratified Kyrgyzstan's treaties with Russia and Turkmenia.

TASS Reports Independence

LD3108182191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1731 GMT 31 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Barshay]

[Text] Bishkek, 31 Aug (TASS)—A declaration of state independence of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan was adopted at an extraordinary session of the republican Supreme Soviet today. The session was addressed by Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev, who pointed to the need for a radical re-examination of the draft Union treaty to reinforce decisively the republic's rights and interests. The president declared that he is in favor of a union—not a federal union, but rather a confederation along the lines of the British Commonwealth or the European Economic Community.

The deputies adopted a law on elections of the president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, and set the date for nation-wide presidential elections for 12 October. The current president of the Republic, Askar Akayev, was unanimously nominated for this post.

At the session, a presidential amendment was adopted to the Article of the Land Codex, which now states that land in the republic belongs not only to the Kyrgyz people, but also to all the ethnic groups inhabiting Kyrgyzstan.

President Akayev Favors Formation of Federation

OW3108161091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan has said he continues supporting the idea of the Soviet Union being rebuilt as a confederation in the style of the British Commonwealth or the European Economic Community. Addressing a session of the republican parliament on Saturday, he said it is necessary to work out, within a week or so, a set of economic agreements open for signing to all the republics. "Otherwise, the country may find itself facing a catastrophe," he warned. The Kyrgyz president again stressed the need to dissolve the communist party, strengthen executive power and form a permanently operating parliament in the republic. He also called for withdrawing the republican Procurator's Office from Moscow's control and for setting up a national guard in Kyrgyzstan.

Supreme Soviet Extraordinary Session Opens

LD3108134191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan Supreme Soviet opened in Bishkek today. The situation that appeared as a result of the attempted coup d'etat on 19 August is to be discussed. A question of adopting a law on the election of the president of Kyrgyzstan is also on the agenda. Treaties on friendship and cooperation with the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic and on foundations of interstate relations with the Russian Federation will be ratified.

Session Ends

LD0109193691 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1612 GMT 1 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan Supreme Soviet took place on 31 August in Bishkek. In spite of the fact that this session was convened as an extraordinary session, it was a significantly belated session, according to the self-critical remarks of many deputies, especially if one takes into account the fact that the first issue on the agenda was the lessons of the state coup.

Against the background of active and decisive actions by republican President Askar Akayev and his team the parliament did not show any colors, neither during the days of the putsch nor immediately after it. Such structures as the Constitutional Court and the Procuracy also remained silent. The fact that over 90 percent of the deputies are CPSU members can explain all this. It is

true, however, that at present many of them are quick to part with their party cards. For example, this refers to the agriculture minister.

There was no other good news for those gathered. The winter is expected to be troublesome. Moreover, one can no longer count on the center's protection. One must rely only upon one's own strength and horizontal ties with the republics. Treaties have already been signed with Russia, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenia. President Akayev confirmed his adherence to the union treaty. The form of the union is to be a confederation.

The majority supported the idea of setting up a national guard. The session also discussed a range of issues linked to the nationwide elections for the president. People have great trust in the present president.

The session adopted the decision to recognize the independence of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. The issue of putting an end to CPSU activities on the territory of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan and on handing its property over to the republic was also discussed. [video shows the session hall and speakers]

Tajikistan

Elections for New Tajik President Scheduled

LD3108155891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1530 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Tajik President Kakhar Makkhamov has resigned. This happened after the temporizing position of the president with regard to the coup was subjected to sharp criticism at an emergency session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. No confidence was also expressed in him. Elections for the new president of Tajikistan are planned for 27 October.

I will draw your attention to yet another decision by the session: From now on the official name of the republic is the Republic of Tajikistan.

Supreme Soviet To Debate No-Confidence Motion

LD3108054391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0300 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] The session of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan continues in Dushanbe today. The day before the [word indistinct] question of the agenda was discussed on the political situation in the Republic and position of the leadership in connection with the anti-Constitutional coup in the USSR. It is planned to adopt a relevant decision today. The cabinet will report on the economic situation in the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic and the Supreme Soviet will discuss a motion on a vote of no-confidence in the government.

Republic President's Resignation Reported

LD3108140291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1307 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Report by Dushanbe correspondent (Musaf Armadjidov)]

[Text] The Tajik Supreme Soviet emergency session was scheduled to last one day, with only one issue on the agenda—the political situation in the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic and the position of the republic's leadership on the anticonstitutional coup which took place in the USSR. A further five items were then added, but the legislators did not manage to discuss even one issue either on the first or second days. Today, the third day of the session's work, the people's deputies should have been adopting a decree on the main issue that brought them together, but the discussion went off in another direction.

People's Deupty Safar Ali Kendzhayev spoke first at the morning session. After saying a good word for Tajik President Kakhar Makhkamov, he reproached him for the fact that he is no longer in control of the situation and advised him to resign. Deputy (Abdussattarov) spoke next and also demanded that the president hand in his resignation. He presented the ultimatum that otherwise he and another group of 28 deputies would leave the session.

People's Deputies (Takhir Abdudzhabbarov), (Dzhuradeg Marodov), and many others also demanded the president's resignation. This turn of events was not unexpected for those participating in the session, as many of them had expressed a lack of confidence in the president in the previous two days.

Participants in the three-day meetings in Dushanbe's Lenin Square also demanded the president's resignation. Moreover, on 30 August, those at the meeting, representatives of various public organizations and movements, stated that they would not leave the square until the president and the republican leadership resigned.

At the same time, 124 of the 172 people's deputies who voted expressed their lack of confidence in the president.

The issue was raised as to whether Makhkamov should be the president or not.

Kakhar Makhkamov, Tajikistan's first president, resigned at 1400 on 31 August.

A total of 172 people's deputies voted to accept Tajik President Kakhar Makhkamov's resignation. Only two were against. Lenin Square erupted a few moments after hearing the news.

Uzbekistan

Emergency Session To Discuss Independence

OW3008224391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An extraordinary parliamentary session opening in Tashkent on August 31 will discuss the prospects of proclaiming Uzbekistan's independence, approve a new flag, coat-of-arms and anthem, and confirm a number of presidential decrees.

Karimov Reports to Session

LD3108132491 Tashkent Radio Tashkent in English 1200 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] An extraordinary sixth session of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek republic has been held in Tashkent. A report was delivered by the president of the republic, Islam Karimov. (?He gave assessment) to the development of history in the country on 19- 21 August, expressed the stand of the republic's leadership [words indistinct] a resolute no to the use of strength was (?dealt) first and foremost to the use of strength for the solution of differences between various racial and political groups.

Islam Karimov said that the main thing for us today is to serve the interests of the people, the interests of the republic, create new conditions of life for all who live on this earth. Islam Karimov (?dwelt) further on the question of strengthening further [words indistinct] intend to go on with cooperation among the sovereign states of the Central Asian region. Only jointly can we solve acute ecological, economic, social problems, said Islam Karimov.

Independence Decree Adopted

LD3108144491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1402 GMT 31 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Pruger]

[Text] Tashkent, 31 Aug (TASS)—A decree on Uzbekistan's state independence was adopted today by an absolute majority of votes at the extraordinary session of the parliament of this Central Asian Soviet republic.

The law stipulates Uzbekistan's complete autonomy in defining its own socioeconomic policy, the independence of the republic in the sphere of foreign political and economic links, and the jurisdiction of Uzbekistan over industrial enterprises subordinated to the union.

Republican President Islam Karimov delivered a speech at the session. He characterized Uzbekistan's economic situation as complex and critical. He sees the way out of this in strengthening the republic's independence. Moreover, underlined the president, "We are not rejecting the idea of signing the union treaty, but it must undergo radical changes." The union, he thinks, should obtain features of a confederation, of a free union of sovereign states which has a single economic space. The republics must coordinate their foreign policy efforts in the struggle for peace, for saving mankind from a nuclear threat and catastrophes.

Islam Karimov noted that the declaration of independence of the republic will not in any way be followed by any kind of infringement of human rights because of nationality. Uzbekistan intends to adhere strictly to the word and spirit of the human rights declaration. Everything will be done to protect constitutional rights and to ensure the true equality of the representatives of all nations and peoples in the republic.

The parliament decided that 1 September is a state holiday: Uzbek Independence Day.

The session then finished its work.

Independence, Amnesty Approved

LD0109105191 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0200 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Excerpts] An extraordinary session of the Republican Supreme Soviet was held yesterday. Yuldashev, Supreme Soviet chairman, opened the session. Deputies approved the agenda. The agenda included the following: 1. the state independence of Uzbekistan; 2. the state flag of Uzbekistan; and 3. confirmation of decrees of the president of the republic and certain documents of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

Karimov, president of the Uzbekistan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], read a report on the state independence of the Republic of Uzbekistan. [passage omitted]

Deputies adopted the declaration of the supreme soviet on the state independence of the republic. In accordance with the relevant decision, the name of the Uzbekistan SSR was changed to the Republic of Uzbekistan, and 1 September was declared Independence Day. As from this year, this day will be a holiday.

After discussions on every item the Supreme Soviet adopted the law on the independence of the Republic of Uzbekistan. The session confirmed decrees of the president of Uzbekistan and certain documents of the Supreme Soviet presidium.

The Supreme Soviet approved the amnesty granted by the president on the occasion of Independence Day.

The session examined the question of the state flag of the Republic of Uzbekistan. After a comprehensive discussion on proposed examples, deputies adopted a decision on instructing the expert group of the commission [word indistinct] to continue their work on this question and to prepare examples for a state flag for the republic of Uzbekistan in time for the next regular session. With this, the extraordinary sixth session concluded its work.

President Marks Independence With Amnesty Decree

LD0109092591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0700 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] A great holiday devoted to the declaration of state independence is being marked in Uzbekistan today. The republican president's decree on amnesty is pegged to this event.

President Karimov Calls For Confederation

LD0109133591 Moscow TASS in English 1307 GMT 1 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Pruger and UZTAG-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Drachev]

[Text] Tashkent September 1 TASS—Uzbekistan, the Soviet cotton-growing republic in Central Asia with a population of 20 million, is for the first time marking its independence day today, following the passing of a law on state independence, approved by an overwhelming majority at a special session of its parliament on Saturday.

The law says Uzbekistan will be absolutely free in defining its social and economic policy and conducting foreign political and economic activity. It also says all industrial enterprises owned by the USSR will be transferred to the jurisdiction of the republic.

President Islam Karimov reminded the session that stronger independence was needed to pull Uzbekistan out of the crisis. Along with this Karimov stressed that "we have not discarded the idea of signing the Union treaty, but its draft must be radically redrawn."

Karimov said the future union should be more like a confederation, a free union of sovereign states in a single economic space.

Its member-republics should coordinate foreign political efforts in the struggle for peace and protection of mankind against nuclear threat and natural calamities.

Karimov assured people of other nationalities residing in Uzbekistan that there would be no encroachment on their human rights following the proclamation of independence by the Uzbek Republic. He promised Uzbekistan will stick to the letter and spirit of the universal declaration of human rights. Everything will be done to protect constitutional rights and ensure full equality of people of all nations and nationalities in the republic.

The parliament decided to proclaim September 1 the republic's national holiday—Uzbekistan's independence day.

No special processions were organised in Lenin Square in downtown Tashkent to mark the occasion. People are quiet and alive with new hopes for a better future. The republic had not supported last month's coup but it gave a jolt to the public opinion. People are now looking to Uzbekistan's leadership for practical steps to improve life.

They support the parliament's stand on the future of the union: The renovated union must be preserved and Uzbekistan must be its integral part as an independent sovereign state.

Tashkent Radio Carries Karimov's Amnesty Decree

LD0109141991 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0200 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Decree of the president of the Republic of Uzbekistan on an amnesty on the occasion of the independence of Uzbekistan:

On the occasion of the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Uzbekistan, I decree:

1. The following who are sentenced to imprisonment or a non- custodial punishment are to be relieved of serving the sentence:

A. Men over 60 and women over 55 years of age;

B. [Words indistinct] and pregnant women;

C. Veterans of the Great Patriotic War and [words indistinct] persons to them;

2. Women sentenced to up to five years of imprisonment, and to non-custodial punishments, are to be relieved of serving the sentence.

3. Underage men sentenced to up to three years of imprisonment and to non-custodial punishments are to be relieved of serving the sentence.

4. Persons specified in articles 2 and 3 of the decree are to be relieved of [words indistinct] sentences.

5. Persons not covered by articles 1, 2, and 3 of the decree, convicted of minor crimes and crimes committed unwillingly are to serve half of their sentences. [passage indistinct]